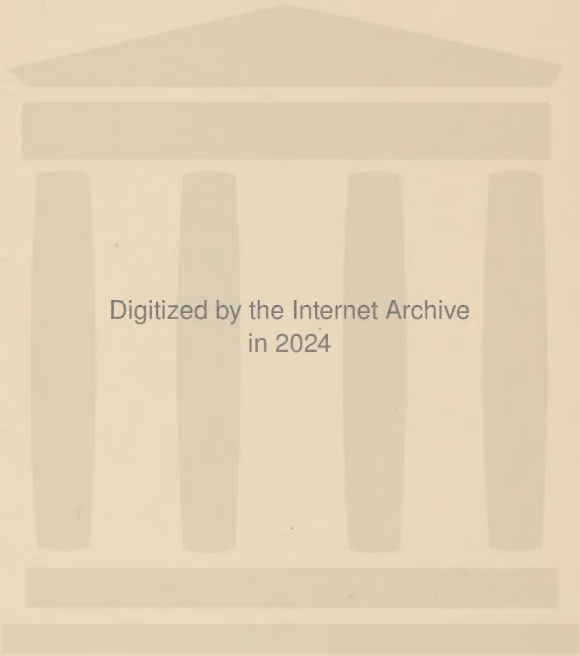
HELEN & MICHAEL
OPPENHEIMER



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/gospelsshortintr0000vinc_k8p5

THE GOSPELS

A Short Introduction

BY

VINCENT TAYLOR

Ph.D., D.D.(Lond.), Hon.D.D.(Leeds), Hon.D.D.(Dublin)

Principal and Ferens Professor of
New Testament Language and Literature,
Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds

LONDON : THE EPWORTH PRESS

PUBLISHED BY
THE EPWORTH PRESS
(FRANK H. CUMBERS)
25–35 CITY ROAD, LONDON, E.C.1

*

New York . *Toronto*
Melbourne . *Cape Town*

*
All rights reserved

First Edition, 1930
Second Edition, 1933
Third Edition, 1935
Fourth and Enlarged Edition, 1938
Fifth Edition, 1945
Sixth Edition, 1948
Seventh Edition, 1952

SET IN MONOTYPE BASKERVILLE, MADE AND PRINTED IN
GREAT BRITAIN BY THE CAMELOT PRESS LIMITED,
LONDON AND SOUTHAMPTON

CONTENTS

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION . . . 5

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION . . . 5

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION . . . 6

1. INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS 7

2. THE EARLIEST TRADITION 13

3. THE SOURCE Q 20

4. OTHER SAYINGS-COLLECTIONS USED BY MARK, MATTHEW, AND LUKE 28

5. PROTO-LUKE 36

6. THE MARKAN SOURCE 44

7. THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK 53

8. THE SOURCES PECULIAR TO LUKE AND MATTHEW. 62

9. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE 68

10. THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW 76

11. THE FOURTH GOSPEL: ITS STRUCTURE AND CHARACTER 84

12. THE FOURTH GOSPEL: ITS PURPOSE, AUTHORSHIP, AND VALUE 98

APPENDIX 110

INDEX 110

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

I HAVE carefully revised this Edition in the light of recent discussions and have added notes and references relating to the Q Hypothesis, the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, Bussmann's Hypothesis, the authorship of 1 John, and the critical problems connected with the Fourth Gospel. I trust that this Edition may be of service to students and to the growing number of readers who are keenly interested in the question of Gospel Origins. For the correction of the proofs I am much indebted to my friend Mr. John Eades.

VINCENT TAYLOR

ST. ANNES ON THE SEA
January 1945

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

THE re-setting of the type in this Edition has made it possible to make a number of alterations and additions in order to bring the book up to date. The principal additions have been made in Chapters II, XI, and XII. I desire to express my grateful acknowledgements to the Rev. Griffith T. Roberts, M.A., B.D., for his valuable help in the correction of the proof sheets.

VINCENT TAYLOR

WESLEY COLLEGE
HEADINGLEY, LEEDS
January 1938

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

As the sub-title indicates, this little book is not intended to be more than a brief introduction to the four Gospels. It treats questions of sources, date, and authorship, and the mutual relations of one Gospel to another. It does not attempt to discuss the deepest and most beautiful things in the Gospels, but rather those questions about which we must form opinions if we are to read these unique works with insight and understanding. Brevity and clearness seemed essential characteristics, and these I have sought to secure at some cost; it would have been much easier to write a longer work. The severe limitations of space may have necessitated here and there a summary treatment of a disputed point, but in all cases I have given full references which enable the student to pursue the question farther. I hope indeed that this book will point the reader to the larger works of A. S. Peake, J. Moffatt, B. H. Streeter, A. H. McNeile, and F. B. Clogg. The more advanced student may also find it an advantage to have positions summarized.

There must also be many intelligent readers of the Gospels, besides professed students, who would welcome guidance upon the subject of Gospel Origins. For them, too, these chapters are written in the hope that they will be found helpful.

In Chapter V I have summarized some of the arguments set out in great detail in *Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis* (1926); and I wish here to express my grateful acknowledgements to the Delegates of the *Clarendon Press* for permission to do this. I desire also to thank my wife for her patience and help in the tedious task of correcting the proofs, and for not a few suggestions which make the treatment more interesting and clear.

VINCENT TAYLOR

ABERDEEN

I

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

THE most significant fact about the Gospels is that they speak for themselves, and that again and again, by means of them, faith has been kindled and kept. It is none the less true that if we wish to read them to the best advantage, certain initial questions must be asked and answered. Who wrote these books, and when? Were earlier sources used, and can they be identified? Has the original text been preserved with substantial accuracy? How is it that only four Gospels are recognized as 'Scripture', and how did they come to be so regarded? What is the literary character of the Gospels? Are we to treat them as we treat other writings, and wherein does their 'authority' lie? In order to examine these questions in detail a considerable volume would be necessary, and the reader would need to devote years of patient study to the task. Happily for ordinary purposes this severe discipline is not necessary. But without at least a general knowledge of the subject, the modern reader will easily fall into errors and misunderstandings, and may miss the real greatness of the Gospels.

Authorship and Date

No Gospel is the work of an eyewitness, though all rest on the tradition of eyewitnesses. Mark and Luke, the authors of the Second and Third Gospels, were the helpers and associates of Apostles. The author of the First Gospel used a source containing the sayings of Jesus, which may well embody the tradition of Matthew. The Fourth Evangelist, the great unknown Ephesian teacher, probably depended for part of his tradition on the testimony of the Apostle John, whose residence in Ephesus is so strongly attested by early Christian writers. Why Gospels were not

written earlier, and by actual eyewitnesses, is easily answered. In the first place, in the primitive Christian communities, oral testimony was more highly valued: men preferred the 'living and abiding voice'. Again, as the Epistles and the Gospels themselves show, the hope of Christ's speedy return dominated men's minds. Any day He might come upon the clouds of heaven with power and great glory: what need, then, was there for books? Only as eyewitnesses died, and the Coming was delayed, and only as the needs of the Gentile Mission grew, was the demand felt for written records of what Jesus had said and done. Thus, the period for the writing of the Gospels is A.D. 65–100, and this general inference is supported by the contents of the Gospels themselves, and especially by passages like Mark xiii. 14 and Luke xxi. 20, which appear to reflect the approach of the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Mark is the earliest Gospel, and was probably written during the period A.D. 65–70. Luke may be dated A.D. 80–5, Matthew A.D. 85–90, and John A.D. 90–100.[1]

Sources

But while the Gospels themselves are comparatively late, they rest upon earlier sources, some of which were written. Only so can we explain the astonishing verbal agreement between Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in many parallel passages, and the less striking but even more significant agreement often present in the order in which events and sayings are recorded. This will be clear, for example, if the reader will examine the passage Mark x. 13–34, as it appears in Matthew (xix. 13–30, xx. 17–19), and in Luke (xviii. 15–34); and will compare Matthew iii. 7–10 and Luke iii. 7–9.[2] The commonly accepted Two Document

[1] For the view that the Fourth Gospel came into circulation later, see p. 103.

[2] Luke xviii. 15–34 contains 68 per cent. of Mark's words, while in the speech of John the Baptist Luke and Matthew have eighty-seven out of ninety words in common.

Hypothesis suggests that Matthew and Luke used two main sources—the Gospel of Mark (in substantially its present form), and a document containing the sayings of Jesus. The latter is usually described as Q (the initial letter of the German word *Quelle*, meaning 'source' or 'spring'),[1] and is probably referred to by the early Christian writer Papias (about A.D. 130) in the words: 'Matthew wrote the Logia in Hebrew, and each man interpreted them as he was able.'[2] In his invaluable work, *The Four Gospels*, Canon B. H. Streeter has substituted a Four Document Hypothesis for the Two Document Hypothesis, In addition to Q, he posits a Jerusalem sayings-document, M, used by the First Evangelist, and further suggests that Luke used a document, L, which contained the special tradition of Caesarea. A good case can be made for presuming the existence of M. From the manner in which Matthew has used Mark and Q, we know that it is his habit to conflate, or interweave, his sources. The suggestion, therefore, that he has combined some such document as M with Q, accounts for those parallel passages in Matthew and Luke in which the actual linguistic agreement is small. Moreover, the source M, as Streeter isolates it,[3] containing as it does the parables peculiar to the First Gospel, has a distinct Jewish tone of its own. There is very much less to be said for presuming the existence of a documentary source, L. On the whole, it seems best to use this sign as a convenient symbol for the oral tradition of Caesarea.[4] Besides the sources mentioned, others, prob-

[1] Apparently the symbol Q was first used by J. Armitage Robinson, in order to distinguish the sayings-document from the narrative matter (P) derived from Peter. Cf. R. H. Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*, p. 27.

[2] Some scholars think that these enigmatic words refer to a collection of Old Testament Messianic proof-texts, or *testimonia*. Others, e.g. B. W. Bacon, think that Papias was wrongly thinking of the First Gospel itself. The quotation is given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (III, 39) from the lost work of Papias, *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord.*

[3] *The Four Gospels*, 1924, pp. 254 *ff.*

[4] For a fuller discussion see my article on 'The Four Document Hypothesis' in *The London Quarterly Review* for July, 1926.

ably oral in character, must be assumed for the Birth Stories of Luke i and ii, and for the narratives peculiar to Matthew. The Fourth Evangelist has used Mark as a source,[1] and also a body of tradition unknown to the writers of the first three Gospels, consisting of narratives and sayings of Jesus.

Text and Canon

Do we possess the Gospels substantially in the form in which they were first written? There is greater reason to think so than in the case of any other ancient writings. We possess literally hundreds of authorities in the form of Greek manuscripts, translations, early quotations, and ecclesiastical lectionaries. The effect of this wealth of attestation is twofold. On the one hand, on small points, such as the tenses and number of verbs, and the order of phrases, we are often in doubt. On the other hand, it is highly improbable that extensive corruptions can have crept into the text. We can set out our authorities in the form of a genealogical tree, and work back towards the original text, with the result that, except for purposes of minute study, the text of the Revised Version can be accepted as authentic. But how is it that only four Gospels are contained within the Canon (or 'Rule') of Scripture, and how did they come to be accepted? The chief reason is that these four Gospels won their own place in the regard and affections of the early Church. It was their value in the struggle against heresy, together with the belief that they enshrined the tradition of the Apostles and their followers, which led to the separation of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John from other Gospels which had a local and temporary vogue.[2] This process

[1] Dr. P. Gardner-Smith, *St. John and the Synoptic Gospels* (1938), has recently powerfully argued that the Fourth Evangelist was not familiar with the Synoptic Gospels, not even with Mark. See later, p. 89.

[2] As, for example, the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the various Infancy and Passion Gospels.

was already complete before the year A.D. 180. Canon Streeter has pointed out that official canonization cannot create Scripture; 'it can only recognize as inspired books which already enjoy considerable prestige'.[1]

The Character and Authority of the Gospels

The Gospels contain a selection from a wealth of material, much of which has perished, and it is in no way remarkable that they do not always agree in all they relate. We may certainly call them 'inspired writings', but must not force on them a ready-made idea of what inspiration is. The idea, for example, that the Evangelists were supernaturally preserved against mistake, cannot be justified in the light of the facts. In this matter God's thoughts are not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways. It has pleased Him to use human means to preserve the Gospel story. We must therefore use these works just as we should use any other writings, but always with reverence, sympathy, and understanding. This is a view by no means to be accepted in a spirit of pious resignation. On the contrary, it is a matter for gratitude. As the Incarnate came in flesh, so the story of the Life is told in human fashion; and as through the flesh we see God, so through the human writings we hear the Divine. This view has the double advantage of leaving room for fearless inquiry and a full appreciation of the contents of the Gospels; for to regard them as sacrosanct, and therefore outside the area of criticism, is really to miss their true greatness, which lies in the fact that the treasure is 'in earthen vessels'.

The Gospels are certainly not legendary writings; on the contrary, they preserve a genuine historical tradition of the life and ministry of Jesus. On this issue every reader must consult the ever deepening impressions he obtains from frequent reading. As points of importance in this con-

[1] *The Four Gospels*, p. 4. Cf. J. O. F. Murray, in Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*: 'Councils spoke only to ratify results already securely attained' (p. 596).

nexion, the following may be noted: (1) The prevailing unity of spirit in the whole; (2) The relative rarity of personal names, and want of interest in minor characters; (3) The restrained character of the narratives, even when Nature-miracles are in question; (4) The rare emergence of dogmatic interests and tendencies. On the question of the *authority* of the Gospels, the wisest word spoken in recent times is that of Dr. A. H. McNeile: 'The New Testament is a collection of masterpieces of spiritual music. Its authority is that of spiritual experts, and we treat it as we should treat the authority of any supreme expert *on his subject*.'[1]

The First Three Gospels and the Fourth

No study of the Gospels is adequate which does not recognize the marked differences between the first three, or Synoptic, Gospels and the Fourth Gospel. The term 'Synoptic' indicates that Matthew, Mark, and Luke present a common view of the Gospel story; and that, while each has its special characteristics, they frequently give parallel accounts of the same incidents and sayings. In this respect the Fourth Gospel takes a line of its own in style, contents, and methods. Its special character must be examined and appraised in due course, but for the present our immediate concern must be the Synoptic tradition.

[1] *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (1927), p. 471.

II

THE EARLIEST TRADITION

CAN we get behind books and documents, and see the Gospel tradition in the process of its forming? For a hundred years and more this has been the aim of criticism, but especially is this statement true of the post-war period and of German scholarship in particular. The all-compelling motive is the need to see the Jesus of history and to hear His words for ourselves.

The Form-Historical Method

In a sense the new movement is the child of disappointment. The Two Document Hypothesis was rightly felt to be a gain: we were so far nearer the original tradition! But was it not possible to advance farther still? Led by this motive, scholars sought by critical methods to disinter an *Ur-Markus* (or original Mark), or to recover a lost Hebrew Gospel lying behind the Greek Matthew. These attempts failed, but the failure only served to prompt new inquiries. Let it be granted that behind Mark and Q lies the uncharted sea of Oral Tradition; can we not dare to sail on that sea and learn something of its bounds, currents, and anchorages? In other words, can we learn anything about the form of the narratives and sayings before they were committed to writing? What were they like, and what interests led to their formation and preservation? Inasmuch as the new inquiry deals with the form of the traditional units, it has come to be known as the 'Form-historical Method' (*Die formgeschichtliche Methode*). Its leading exponents are M. Dibelius, R. Bultmann, M. Albertz, G. Bertram, E. Fascher, B. S. Easton, F. C. Grant, and E. Redlich.

Leading Principles

The foundation assumption is the belief that the narratives and sayings first existed as single isolated elements. This is by no means a mere supposition. If we examine Mark, we soon discover that very many of its narratives can easily be detached from their present framework. The stories of the Paralytic (ii. 1 *ff.*), the Blessing of the Children (x. 13 *ff.*), and the Question about Tribute-money (xii. 13 *ff.*), will serve as examples. These stories are self-contained units, and the inference is tempting that they existed in that form during the oral period. They were not the work of practised writers, but of unknown and unliterary men. A second observation is that the material appears to fall into certain broad classes. The distinction between narratives and sayings is obvious, but the narratives themselves are of different types. There are, for example, brief narratives like the three already mentioned, in which only what is absolutely necessary is told, in order to lead on as quickly as possible to the point of the whole—a word of Jesus Himself. As a further example, the story of the Question about Fasting (Mark ii. 16 *f.*) may be cited:

> And the scribes of the Pharisees, when they saw that he was eating with the sinners and publicans, said unto his disciples, He eateth with publicans and sinners. And when Jesus heard it, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.

It will be seen that no attempt is made to portray the persons mentioned, or to describe the scene in detail, and that the story ends immediately the decisive word is said. But, besides these narratives, there is a second class of another kind, including the Storm on the Lake, the Demoniac and the Swine, the Daughter of Jaïrus and the Woman with the Issue of Blood, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the Walking on the Sea, the Deaf Mute, the

Blind Man of Bethsaida, and the Epileptic Lad.[1] These stories are all more broadly portrayed and much more vividly coloured. The demoniac and the lad are described in considerable detail, the means used in curing the deaf mute and the blind man are mentioned, and there is an almost complete lack of the teaching element in the few words ascribed to Jesus.

In addition to the narratives described above, Bultmann seeks to elucidate the *Sayings* by the principles of Form-Criticism, and classifies them as follows: (1) Logia or Wisdom-words, (2) Prophetic and Apocalyptic words, (3) Law-words and Community-rules, (4) 'I-words' (sayings in the first person singular), and (5) Parables. It cannot be said that this attempt is successful; apart from the Parables, the distinctions are those of style and subject-matter. A similar objection can also be brought against another classification, that of *Myths and Legends*. In this class Dibelius places the Baptism, the Temptation, and the Transfiguration. Bultmann adds to these the Ministry of John, the Confession of Peter, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Anointing of Jesus, and most of the Passion and Resurrection stories. These narratives have no distinctive form; it is better to describe them as 'Stories about Jesus', and to determine their value by the use of the ordinary principles of Historical Criticism.

M. Dibelius and R. Bultmann

The pioneers in these investigations are Dibelius and Bultmann. There is no need here to discuss the complicated terminology they have coined in classifying the different kinds of material.[2] It may, however, be of

[1] Cf. Mark iv. 35–41, v. 1–20, v. 21–43, vi. 35–44, vi. 45–52, vii. 32–7, viii. 22–6, ix. 14–29.

[2] Dibelius (*Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 1919) calls the short narratives *Paradigmen*, the longer narratives *Novellen*. He describes the sayings as *Die Paränese*, and distinguishes a few narratives as *Mythen*. In the case of the last named, he draws a distinction between Mark and its material 'which is

interest to mention some of the suggestions they have made as to the origin of the various types. Dibelius has laid supreme emphasis on the importance of early Christian preaching. 'The Mission', he says, 'presented the cause and the sermon the means for the spreading of what the followers of Jesus preserved as a memory.'[1] Applying this principle, he explains the short narratives already mentioned as examples used for purposes of illustration in early Christian preaching. He further suggests that the sayings of Jesus were first collected by teachers and then given to missionaries when they set out on their journeys. The more broadly portrayed narratives he traces to the work of narrators inspired by the joy of narrating and the desire to give guidance and models for Christian healing activities. Bultmann's explanations take a sceptical direction. He is not at all disposed to ascribe the formation of the single entities to definite historical circles, to preachers, narrators, and teachers; on the contrary, he traces much the greater part of the material to the imagination of 'the community', and to the work of editors influenced by dogmatic and apologetic interests.[2]

Summary

Are these inquiries leading to any definite results? One thing at least is certain. Bultmann's keen-sighted analysis is invaluable in enabling us to classify the material, but the origin of the tradition will not be found to lie in the sceptical direction he himself takes. With what justice, for example, can the vivid narrative of the Plucking of the Ears of Corn (Mark ii. 23–8) be explained as the work of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 6. [2] See also later, pp. 57–9.

only in the smallest part . . . of a mythical character' (*op. cit.*, p. 88). Where Dibelius speaks of *Paradigmen*, Bultmann (*Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 1921) speaks of *Apophthegmata*, and what Dibelius calls *Novellen*, Bultmann calls *Wundergeschichten*. Perhaps the simplest terms are: (1) Pronouncement-stories (for the short narratives which end in a saying of Jesus); (2) Miracle-stories; and (3) Stories about Jesus.

'the community' which puts the justification for its own Sabbath practice into the mouth of Jesus? Or why should the story of the Widow's Mite (Mark xii. 41–4) be an 'ideal scene' because we cannot tell how Jesus knew that the widow had given her all? On all grounds it is much more reasonable to find the origin for such narratives within the life-story of Jesus Himself, in sound historical fact. The work of Dibelius is clearly more positive. Although we know little about the subject-matter of the earliest Christian preaching, it is intrinsically likely that stories and sayings of Jesus were introduced as illustrative matter into the earliest sermons, and that the material as we find it in Mark owes its form to this fact. This suggestion is especially relevant in the case of the shorter narratives, and in view of the fact that Jesus and His words stand in the foreground. But why should we exclude the longer narratives from such usage, especially in the case of preachers of more dramatic gifts? Why should we ascribe the origin of these stories to a special class of narrators of whom we know nothing at all? It is probable that we shall have to find a wider and more varied basis for the origin of the earliest Christian tradition, in the many-sided life of the primitive communities, their joys, problems, persecutions, and worship. All of these experiences must have supplied the impulse to repeat stories of Jesus and to cite His words. In other words, we shall need to pass beyond the study of the formal characteristics of narratives and sayings to the broader historical considerations. E. Fascher speaks a wise word when he says that the historian will take Form-criticism in his hand as a new, finer instrument, but that it remains his instrument, one among many.[1]

The Gains of Current Research

Why, it may be asked, should we consider here a problem which still hangs very much in the air? The answer

[1] *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*, p. 228.

admits of no doubt. In the first place, we shall read our Gospels to better advantage if we know something of the immediate problems. Again, Form-criticism is a significant protest against the tyranny of Source-criticism. In another connexion Canon Streeter has protested against the illusion 'that it is just a little discreditable to any saying of our Lord if it cannot be traced to Q'.[1] Form-criticism laughs at the same illusion in connexion with any source; it pushes documents aside and plunges into the living movement itself. And if, in so doing, it treats documents with less than due respect, we can be sure that time will correct its young fury. Most of all, the inquiry takes us into 'the twilight period', so that in the words of A. Meyer, 'amidst these primitive Christian biographical utterances we are permitted still to be ear-witnesses, to hear the disciples of Jesus and through them Jesus Himself'.[2] More vividly than ever, we realize how much life and worship must have contributed to the formation of oral tradition. Home life, for example, must have been an important factor. Will not the thought that the Kingdom of God belongs to children have recalled the story of how Jesus blessed the children? Must not people have repeated His sayings about divorce, and have told such a story as that of the Reply of Jesus to the Pharisees' Question (Mark x. 1–12)? Other problems of life must also have quickened recollection—the Sabbath question, the payment of Imperial taxes, the mystery of death. Problems of worship will also have been fruitful. Who were to share in the Breaking of Bread? Pagans, people with unclean hands, publicans, sinners? Each question would recall an incident or a saying of Jesus. When missionaries met with failure, they must have remembered parables like the Sower, the Seed growing secretly, and the Mustard Seed,

[1] *The Four Gospels*, p. 227.

[2] *Die Entstehung des Markusevangeliums*, in the *Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher* (1927), p. 54.

while exorcists and healers will have loved to dwell on stories of how Jesus cast out evil spirits and healed the sick. A biographical interest, however fragmentary, must therefore have existed almost from the first. No doubt the eyes of the early Christians were often on the clouds, waiting for a sign which never came, but it is not really credible that even this interest could exclude memories of the lake, the hillside, the garden, and the Cross. Jesus by the Jordan, Jesus entering the city, Jesus on the Cross and appearing after death to His own—these were imperishable memories, repeated in religious assemblies, shared by friend with friend as they sat in the house and walked by the way. The importance of Form-criticism is that it leads to such reflections, however much they may transcend its immediate province.[1]

[1] For a further study of this fascinating question, see B. S. Easton, *The Gospel before the Gospels* (1928); M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (a translation of *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 2nd ed., by B. Lee Woolf) (1934); F. C. Grant, *Form Criticism* (1934); R. H. Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* (1935); A. W. F. Blunt, *The Gospels and the Critic* (1936), pp. 54–67; E. Redlich, *Form Criticism* (1939). See also my *Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (1935).

III

THE SOURCE Q

ARISING out of discussions which cover a century, the theory that Matthew and Luke used a collection of the sayings of Jesus (Q) as their principal authority for His teaching, has won its way to wide and increasing recognition. Some account must now be given of this source and of the questions it raises. What reasons have led scholars to infer the existence of Q? How far can its contents be known? What is its character and approximate date? Above all, what is its historical value for the life and teaching of Jesus?

Grounds for Presuming the Existence of Q

The arguments may be summarized as follows: (1) When we allow for the material which has obviously been derived from Mark, we find that Matthew and Luke have from 200 to 250 verses in common, and often in close agreement. As an example, the saying on the Mote and Beam may be cited.

Luke vi. 41–2

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how *canst* thou say to thy brother, *Brother*, let me cast out the mote *that is in* thine eye, *when thou thyself beholdest not* the beam *that* is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote *that is in* thy brother's eye.

Matthew vii. 3–5

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how *wilt* thou say to thy brother, Let me cast out the mote *out of* thine eye; *and lo*, the beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote *out of* thy brother's eye.

Not all the parallels are as close as this, but there are enough cases of the kind to suggest dependence upon a common source.[1] Since Matthew and Luke are not dependent on each other,[2] we must conclude that each has used the same source.

(2) A second consideration is the relative agreement in the *order* in which many of the sayings appear in Matthew and in Luke. This will be clear if we consider the following sections:

(1) The Baptist's Preaching,
(2) The Temptation,
(3) The Great Sermon,
(4) The Centurion's Servant,
(5) The Baptist's Message,
(6) Children in the Market-place,
(7) Candidates for Discipleship,
(8) 'The Harvest is Plenteous',
(9) The Mission Address,
(10) Woes on the Galilean Cities,
(11) 'I thank Thee, O Father',
(12) The Beelzebub Section,
(13) The Unclean Spirit,
(14) The Refusal to give a Sign.

The order is that of Luke, in Matthew the main differences are that Nos. 5 and 6 follow No. 9, and that Nos. 13 and 14 stand in reverse order, while the Sermon on the Mount contains material which appears in other contexts in Luke. In the second half of the two Gospels the difference of order is greater, but apparently this is due to Matthew's desire to arrange the sayings topically in xxiii

[1] Cf. those cases in the table which follows on pp. 23 *f.* where the Matthaean passages are not enclosed in brackets.

[2] This has been contested, but the complete divergence in the Birth and Infancy chapters, and the differences in the Passion and Resurrection narratives, show that Matthew and Luke are independent works. For the view that Luke used Matthew, see E. Lummis, *How Luke was Written* (1915), and H. G. Jameson, *The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels* (1922).

(Woes on the Pharisees), and xxiv—xxv (The Coming of the Son of Man). It is of interest also to compare the three Lukan sections: On Offences (xvii. 1 *f.*), Forgiveness (xvii. 3 *f.*), Faith (xvii. 5 *f.*). In Matthew the order is Faith (xvii. 20), Offences (xviii. 6 *f.*), Forgiveness (xviii. 21 *f.*).

(3) Further, in Matthew or in Luke the same saying sometimes appears in *two forms*, one of which is demonstrably taken from Mark. The other form is non-Markan, and by analogy we infer that it comes from another written source [Cf. Matthew xix. 9 (=Mark x. 11) and Matthew v. 32 (=Luke xvi. 18); and cf. Luke viii. 17 (=Mark iv. 22) and Luke xii. 2 (=Matthew x. 26)]. Twenty examples of 'Doublets' in Matthew, and eleven in Luke, as indications of the use of sources, are discussed by Sir John C. Hawkins in *Horae Synopticae* (2nd ed., pp. 80–107).

These considerations justify us in believing that a written source lay before Matthew and Luke, containing sayings of Jesus. The probability that Q was not the only source of the kind remains to be considered in Chapter IV. Whether Q is a unity or a combination of still earlier sources, is a question for further inquiry and speculation.[1]

The Form and Text of Q

Difficulties undoubtedly arise in cases where the verbal agreement is slight. It has been suggested that Matthew and Luke used different editions or translations of Q, and that they subjected their source to drastic editorial treatment, but probably the best explanation is the theory of parallel collections. If the same saying appeared in more sources than one, or if it was current in a slightly different form in oral tradition, the Evangelists would naturally reproduce it in the words which were more familiar to them. The question has often been debated whether sayings and parables found in a single Gospel can be

[1] See further, pp. 26 *f.*

assigned to Q, but with increasing readiness to presuppose several sources, the problem no longer has the same urgency. It is not likely that the narrative element in Q was considerable, though traces appear in the section on the Centurion's Servant and the Dumb Spirit. It is still more unlikely that Q contained a Passion narrative, since here Matthew is entirely dependent on Mark and a few oral traditions. The date of Q is comparatively early; it can hardly be later than A.D. 60, and may be considerably earlier.[1]

In *Sprüche und Reden*, Harnack sought to restore the original Greek text. But in view of the Evangelists' literary methods, their use of different sources, and the possibility that originally Q was an Aramaic document, most scholars content themselves with indicating the sections where Q has been used. In the table which follows, the passages on the left are given in the order of Luke, who, in the main, probably preserves the original order of Q.[2]

	Luke		Matthew
1.	iii. 7–9, 16–17	=	iii. 7–12.
2.	iii. 21–2	=	iii. 16–17.
3.	iv. 1–13	=	iv. 1–11.
4.	vi. 20–3	=	(v. 3, 5, 6, 11, 12).
	27–36	=	(v. 39–48), vii. 12.
	37–40	=	(vii. 1–2), (xv. 14), (x. 24–5).
	41–2	=	vii. 3–5.
	43–6	=	(xii. 33–5), (vii. 16–21).
	47–9	=	vii. 24–7.
5.	vii. 1–10	=	viii. 5–10, 13.
6.	vii. 18–35	=	xi. 2–11, 16–19.
7.	ix. 57–60	=	viii. 19–22.
8.	x. 2–12	=	ix. 37–8, (x. 16), x. 9–15.
9.	x. 13–15.	=	xi. 21–3.

[1] Streeter suggests A.D. 50. Cf. *The Four Gospels*, p. 150.

[2] This is the opinion of many scholars including J. A. Robinson, F. C. Burkitt, V. H. Stanton, B. H. Streeter, and T. W. Manson. Canon Burney held that the Semitic parallelism is more faithfully preserved in Matthew Cf. *The Poetry of our Lord*, pp. 87*f*.

	Luke		Matthew
10.	x. 21–4	=	xi. 25–7, xiii. 16–17.
11.	x. 25–7	=	(xxii. 34–9).
12.	xi. 2–4	=	(vi. 9–13).
13.	xi. 9–13	=	vii. 7–11.
14.	xi. 14–23	=	xii. 22–30.
15.	xi. 24–6	=	xii. 43–5.
16.	xi. 29–32	=	xii. 38–42.
17.	xi. 33–5	=	v. 15, vi. 22–3.
18.	xi. 37—xii. 1	=	(xxiii).
19.	xii. 2–12	=	x. 26–33, xii. 32, x. 19.
20.	xii. 22–34	=	vi. 25–33, (vi. 19–21).
21.	xii. 39–46	=	xxiv. 43–51.
22.	xii. 51–6	=	(x. 34–6), (xvi. 2–3).
23.	xii. 57–9	=	v. 25–6.
24.	xiii. 18–21	=	xiii. 31–3.
25.	xiii. 23–30	=	(vii. 13–14), (xxv. 10–12), (vii. 22–3), viii. 11–12.
26.	xiii. 34–5	=	xxiii. 37–9.
27.	xiv. 11=xviii. 14b	=	xxiii. 12.
28.	xiv. 15–24	=	(xxii. 1–10).
29.	xiv. 26–7, 34–5	=	(x. 37–8), (v. 13).
30.	xv. 4–7, 10	=	(xviii. 12–14).
31.	xvi. 13	=	vi. 24.
32.	xvi. 16–18	=	(xi. 12–13), (v. 18). (v. 32).
33.	xvii. 1–6	=	xviii. 6–7, (xviii. 15, 21–2) (xvii. 20).
34.	xvii. 22–7, 33–7	=	xxiv. 26–8, 37–41, x. 39.
35.	xix. 12–27	=	(xxv. 14–30).
36.	xxii. 30b	=	(xix. 28b).

NOTE.—The passages in brackets are those in which the verbal correspondence is comparatively slight. In these cases besides Q a parallel source (or sources) has been employed by Matthew. A few passages found in Luke only may be derived from Q, e.g. vi. 24–6, ix. 61–2, xii. 35–8, 47–8.

The Historical Value of Q

Q is perhaps the most valuable source used by the Evangelists. Besides recording so much of the teaching of Jesus, it implies a good deal about the course and character of His ministry, and throws His personality into vivid relief. It is from this source that we learn most of John's

message, his greatness and his limitations, and that we understand best the meaning of the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus. Although Q contained few narratives, the healing ministry is clearly revealed in the story of the Centurion's Servant, and above all in the words: 'Tell John what things ye have seen and heard; the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good tidings preached to them.'[1] How revealing is the Woe uttered upon the Galilean cities![2] Of Capernaum we know much from Mark, but of the dealings of Jesus with Bethsaida we know next to nothing, while Chorazin has completely disappeared from the Gospel story except in the words from Q: 'Woe unto thee, Chorazin!', which imply experiences of disappointment of the most poignant kind. Exactly the same is true of Jerusalem; indeed, the words: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her own brood under her wings, and ye would not!',[3] imply that Jesus must have visited the city frequently, although Mark tells us of only a single visit.[4]

Q contains few parables, but its sayings are full of life and colour. Lilies, grass, seeds, trees, reeds, figs, thorns, brambles, grapes, foxes, serpents, sparrows, ravens, eagles —of all these we read in Q. We see also the interest of Jesus in the common things of daily life: clouds, winds, lamps, purses, barns, mill-stones, houses on sand and rock, thieves digging through mud walls, children playing in the market-places. Attention has often been drawn to these interests in recent years, and by no one more aptly than by Canon J. M. C. Crum who holds that 'there is as

[1] Luke vii. 22 = Matthew xi. 4*f.*

[2] Luke x. 13–15 = Matthew xi. 21–3.

[3] Luke xiii. 34 = Matthew xxiii. 37–9.

[4] 'The words can be adequately and naturally understood only if Jesus sojourned a longer time or more frequently in the Holy City and repeatedly endeavoured to win it' (K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, p. 271).

good internal evidence of the country origin of Q as any you will find in William Cobbett's *Rural Rides*, or the poems of Robert Burns with their memories of boyhoods spent in Surrey or Ayrshire'.[1] But deeper notes are not wanting, echoes of the inner experience of Jesus, among which none is so rich as the ecstatic cry: 'I thank thee, O Father', with its assertion of the unique mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son.[2]

Valuable however as Q is, its significance can be exaggerated. It contains those sayings of Jesus which made the deepest impression on the minds of the community[3] where it was compiled. But such a community must have failed to appreciate or to record many a pregnant saying of Jesus. Hence other collections of sayings used by Matthew, Mark, and Luke must equally be taken into account. Genuine sayings of Jesus have been preserved by each Synoptic writer, and in some cases by the Fourth Evangelist alone.

NOTE.—W. Bussmann (*Synoptische Studien*, Part II, 1929) has argued that Q can be divided into *two* sources, one of which (T) was written in Greek, and the other (R) in Aramaic. T, according to Bussmann, included the following (omitting the parallels in Matthew): Luke iii. 7–9, iv. 1–13, vi. 31, 37–42, vii. 1–10, 18–35, ix. 57–62, x. 2–16, 21 *f.*, 23 *f.*, xi. 33, xii. 22–34, 36–46, 51–6, xiii. 18–21, 22–30, 31–3, 34 *f.*, xvi. 13. These are the passages in which Matthew and Luke are in close agreement. R (omitting the parallels in Matthew) included: Luke vi. 20–3, 24–6, 27 *f.*, 29 *f.*, 32–6, 43–6, 27–9, xi. 1–4, 9–13, 29–32, 34–6, xi. 37–xii. 1, xii. 2–12, 57–9, xiv. 5 *f.*, 16–24, 25, 26 *f.*, 34 *f.*, xv. 3, 4–7, xvi. 16 *f.*, 18, xvii. 1 *f.*, 3 *f.*, 5 *f.*,

[1] *The Original Jerusalem Gospel*, p. 62.

[2] Luke x. 21 *f.* = Matthew xi. 25–7. The most searching recent discussion is that of Dr. A. E. J. Rawlinson in *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, pp. 251–64.

[3] Perhaps Antioch. See Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

22–37. Cf. *Synoptische Studien*, Part II, pp. 122 *f.* In these passages Matthew and Luke differ considerably, and, in Bussmann's submission, many of the differences in the Greek can be explained as translation-variants. This interesting theory is really an alternative way of explaining some of the difficulties met by Streeter's M Hypothesis (see later, pp. 30–2). Cf. *Hibbert Journal* July, 1931, January, 1932. The most recent study of Q is the invaluable discussion of T. W. Manson in *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, Part II, pp. 307–13, 331–440. See Manson's discussion of Bussmann's hypothesis, *op. cit.*, pp. 312 *f.* An important article by C. Kingsley Barrett, 'Q: a Re-examination', *Expository Times*, liv, pp. 320–3, supports the view, long maintained by B. W. Bacon (cf. *Studies in Matthew*, pp. viii, 91–104; see also C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, p. 39), that the symbol Q should be restricted to denote that *stratum* of the Gospel tradition which is common to the First and Third Gospels, but is not necessarily derived from a single written source. 'Just as our Mark (as is now recognized) is the product of the combination of a multiplicity of sources, so, perhaps, the Q material has been drawn from more than one source' (Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 320). The use of Mark by the later Evangelists, it is suggested, goes far to explain the agreement in the order of the Q material in Matthew and Luke.

IV

OTHER SAYINGS-COLLECTIONS USED BY MARK, MATTHEW, AND LUKE

One of the most valuable contributions Canon Streeter has made to the study of the Gospels is his reminder of the important part which must have been played by the principal centres of primitive Christianity in the formation of the earliest Christian literature.[1] Sufficient attention has not been given to this point. Q, for example, has been widely regarded as the sole collection of its kind, and efforts have been made to extend its boundaries as far as possible.[2] It is much more likely, however, that various collections would be made at places like Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Antioch; and this expectation is confirmed by closer study of the Synoptic Gospels.

The Markan Sayings-Collection

In Mark there are signs of a special sayings-collection which was used by the Evangelist as a source. The clearest indications of this are supplied by the Markan passages parallel to sayings in Q (i. 7–8, 9–11, 12–13, iii. 22–30, iv. 21–25, 30–32, vi. 7–11, viii. 12, 34b, 38, ix. 42–50, x. 11–12, 31, 42–44, xi. 23, xii. 38–40). These passages have frequently been explained as signs of Mark's knowledge and use of Q. Formerly this was Streeter's view, but in *The Four Gospels* he registers a change of mind, and concludes that 'the evidence is decidedly against the view that Mark used Q'.[3] Still more recently

[1] 'Jerusalem and Caesarea, the two great Palestinian Churches, and Antioch, the original headquarters of the Gentile Mission, must each have had a cycle of tradition of its own' (*The Four Gospels*, p. 230).

[2] There have been exceptions, however, notably the American scholar, E. de Witt Burton.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

the same opinion has been independently expressed by Canon J. M. C. Crum in *The Original Jerusalem Gospel*,[1] and in consequence of the striking verbal differences, and the difficulty of accounting for so slight a use of Q by Mark, this is much the best view to take. But if so, these passages are cases in which Q and a separate sayings-collection overlapped; and it may very well be that other Markan sayings belong to the same collection (e.g. ii. 21–22, iv. 1–9, 10–12, 13–20, 26–29, vii. 6–15, 18–23, viii. 34—ix. 1, ix. 11–13, xi. 24–25, xii. 1–11, and parts of xiii. 5–37).

That we are justified in speaking of a 'collection', and probably a written collection, is suggested by the fact that these sayings are often loosely strung together like similar sayings in Proverbs and other Jewish books. (1) The sayings are frequently introduced by vague phrases like 'And he said', which are characteristic of sayings-collections (cf. iv. 11, 26, 30, vii. 6, ix. 1, x. 11, etc.). (2) In some cases sayings have been artificially connected by 'catch-words'. Cf. iv. 21–25 ('measures', cf. iv. 20); iv. 26–32 ('seed'); ix. 42–50 ('one of these little ones', 42, cf. 37; 'fire', 49, cf. 48; 'salt', 50, cf. 49). Apparently, Mark took over these sayings as he found them in an already existing collection, with little or no attempt to provide them with a chronological or topographical frame.[2] This collection is most naturally connected with Rome, the place where the Gospel of Mark was probably written, and a comparison with Q suggests that it is of later date.

The importance of the decision that Mark's sayings-collection is independent of Q can hardly be exaggerated. This point must be considered later, but meantime its significance may be indicated by the pregnant words

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 167–90. Cf. F. B. Clogg, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 190 *f.*

[2] Cf. K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, pp. 131, 233–6; A. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Markusevangeliums*, pp. 56–8.

with which Canon Crum closes his book: 'The reader will judge whether, in these passages, Mark and Q appear to be two independent and trustworthy witnesses, who illustrate and corroborate one another; differing because they are independent, and agreeing because they are trustworthy.'[1]

The Matthaean Sayings-Collection, M

The reasons which led Streeter to assume the existence of M and its use by Matthew were mentioned in the introductory account of the Four Document Hypothesis, but must now be considered in greater detail. For the most part, the discussion turns on the passages where Q appears to have been used, and yet where the verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke is comparatively slight.[2] The main points may be summarized as follows:

(1) The passages in question are best explained if we assume the use of two sayings-collections (Q and M) which partly overlapped. (2) This inference is strengthened by a study of Matthew's literary methods. Passages like Matthew iv. 11, x. 9-15, xii. 22–32, xiii. 31–2, when compared with the parallel passages in Mark and Luke, show that Matthew has skilfully interwoven the language of Mark and Q; in other words, it is his habit to 'conflate' different sources. This fact suggests that elsewhere, where the agreement between Matthew and Luke is slight and there is no Markan parallel, Matthew has interwoven the language of Q with that of some other source. (3) The argument is further supported by the probability that in such cases Luke continues to reproduce the text of Q. It does not appear to be Luke's method to interweave his sources; apparently, he follows one source at a time, and

[1] *The Original Jerusalem Gospel*, p. 190.
[2] Cf. the passages in brackets in the table previously given on pp. 23 *f.*

restricts himself to the language of that source.[1] If then the cases of slight verbal agreement call for explanation, as they do, it is to Matthew's side of the relationship that we must look. (4) These points receive further confirmation from a consideration of another kind: it is just in those contexts where there is reason to suspect the use of M that the 'Judaistic' passages in Matthew appear. These passages include the sayings on the law and the prophets (v. 17–20), the lost sheep of the house of Israel (x. 6; cf. x. 23, xv. 22b–4), things new and old (xiii. 52), twelve thrones (xix. 28), Moses' seat (xxiii. 2), and parables like the Wedding Garment, the Ten Virgins, and the Sheep and Goats. This distinctly Jewish tone suggests that in M we have to do with a positive entity.

Streeter thinks that M is later and less original than Q; he dates it about A.D. 65, and finds in it passages which reflect the attitude of the Christians of Jerusalem who regarded the person of James with special veneration.[2] He renounces the attempt to make a 'tidy' scheme, showing 'exactly' what sayings belonged to M and Q respectively, but in the course of his discussion tentatively ascribes the following passages to M.

(1) Those parts of the Sermon on the Mount where parallels with Luke are slight or non-existent (v. 7–10, 13–24, 27–30, 33–48; vi. 1–18; vii. 13–23).[3]

(2) Parts of the Mission Charge (x. 5–8, 23–5, 40, 41).

[1] Thus, in the long sections Luke vi. 20–viii. 3 and Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14, where Q is freely employed in continuous passages, no use is made of Mark, even where Mark and Q record parallel sayings. This is brilliantly demonstrated by Sir John C. Hawkins in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 29–59.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 232, 254–9.

[3] It is of much interest to note that M. Albertz, working on entirely independent lines, finds traces of a source distinct from Q in the antithetical sayings embedded in Matthew v. 17–48 (in verses 17, 21–2a, 27*f.*, 33–4a, [37?]). It will be seen that this source, which Albertz calls A, includes some of the material which Streeter assigns to M. This undesigned agreement shows that source-criticism is much less speculative than it is sometimes thought to be. For Albertz's views see *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921), pp. 146*ff.*

(3) The greater part of xxiii. (Woes on the Pharisees.)

(4) The parables peculiar to Matthew (The Tares, the Hid Treasure, the Pearl Merchant, the Drag Net, the Unforgiving Servant, the Labourers, the Two Sons, the Wedding Garment, the Ten Virgins, the Sheep and Goats), together with three other parables (the Lost Sheep, the Marriage Feast, the Talents) to which there are parallels in Luke.

(5) Sayings like xii. 11–12, xiii. 52, xv. 22b–4, xviii. 15–22, xix. 28.

From what has been said it will be seen that the argument cannot have the strength of the Q Hypothesis. Indeed, in the series—(1) Q, (2) Markan sayings-collection, and (3) M—the analysis becomes increasingly speculative; and in the nature of the case it must be so. The possibility that M was an oral source, or even a group of sources, cannot be excluded; but that the symbol represents a definite body of tradition, distinct from Q and possibly already in writing, has much justification. The hypothesis does justice to linguistic facts, to Matthew's literary methods, to the Judaic character of the tradition in question, and rests on the broad basis of historical probability.

The Sayings and Parables Peculiar to Luke

Various scholars[1] have traced the material peculiar to Luke to a special source, L. On general grounds of probability this hypothesis may be valid, but there are few arguments of a more positive kind,[2] and it seems best to use the symbol for the oral tradition first committed to

[1] Including P. Feine, B. Weiss, J. Weiss, B. H. Streeter, B. S. Easton, and T. W. Manson. J. V. Bartlet posits a source (S) even more extensive than L as commonly understood. Cf. *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 313–63.

[2] See the list of linguistic peculiarities of L in B. S. Easton's *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, pp. xxiv.–vi. It should be noted that Easton includes Luke i. and ii. in the L Source. If, as is probable, these chapters should be assigned to a special source, the linguistic features characteristic of L are reduced to comparatively small proportions.

writing by Luke when he visited Caesarea about A.D. 60. Be this as it may, L is a distinct stratum of tradition, including (besides narratives) the following:

(1) Fourteen parables: The Two Debtors, the Good Samaritan, the Importunate Friend, the Rich Fool, the Fig Tree, the Tower Builder, the Rash King, the Lost Coin, the Lost Son, the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Farmer and his Man, the Unjust Judge, the Pharisee and Publican.

(2) Various sayings: xii. 13–15 (on Dividing the Inheritance), xiii. 1–5 (the Galileans and the Tower of Siloam), xiii. 31–3 ('That fox'), xiv. 7–14 (On being invited to a Banquet, and on issuing invitations), xvi. 14*f.* ('Lovers of Money'), xxii. 24–30 (True Greatness); and perhaps iii. 23–38 (The Genealogy), xi. 1–4 (The Lord's Prayer), and the non-Markan parts of xxi. 12–36 (The Eschatological Discourse).

(3) The following narratives: The Sermon at Nazareth, the Call of Simon, the Choice of the Twelve(?),[1] the Widow's Son at Nain, the Woman in the City, the Ministering Women, the Samaritan Village, the Mission of the Seventy, Martha and Mary, the Woman who cried: 'Blessed is the womb', the Woman with the Spirit of Infirmity, the Dropsical Man, the Ten Lepers, Zacchaeus; the Passion narratives, including: the Supper, the Agony, the Arrest, the Mocking, the Trials before the Priests, Pilate and Herod, the Weeping Women, the Crucifixion, the Penitent Thief; and the Resurrection narratives: the Visit of the Women, the Journey to Emmaus, the Appearance at Jerusalem, and the Parting of Jesus from His Disciples.

The Value of Source-Criticism

The question naturally arises whether the foregoing discussions lead to any tangible results: are they worth the time and trouble spent on them? A cursory survey of the

[1] See *Expository Times*, liv, pp. 220*f.*

results reached might suggest doubts. The Q Hypothesis is reasonably, but not absolutely, certain; the arguments for the Markan sayings-collection are strong but not irrefutable; the M Hypothesis is cogent, but speculative; the L Hypothesis, in its documentary form, is doubtful. Thus, from the point of view of verification, the list is a descending series. But there are still many things to be said. The descending series represents our ability to prove hypotheses resting on strong antecedent probability.[1] Moreover, the doubts are formidable only so long as we speak of documents; and the issue does not lie in documents at all, however probable their existence may be. Whether we can speak of written collections or not, we have, in the sources indicated, four definite and probably distinct strata; and to these we must add a fifth, hereafter to be considered—the sayings on which the Fourth Gospel rests. This is a result of first importance. In discussing Mark and Q, Canon Crum has used the excellent metaphor of focusing with two eyes. 'If two independent and authentic accounts have come to us from the first generation of Christianity, we are like men who can focus what they see with both their eyes. We see what we see from two slightly different angles. The story stands out in a new perspective.'[2] But this figure, apt as it is, is only partly adequate. We must think rather of four or five roads which begin from a common point, of the loop lines of a railway system, or the branches of a tree. The teaching of Jesus as we have it in the Gospels stands at the ends of converging lines of tradition. This is the result to which modern criticism leads us, and, in a large measure, it is independent of inevitable differences of opinion on small and even greater points. The gain from the side of historical credibility is undoubted, and a new chapter in

[1] 'Whenever the sayings and doings of a remarkable person are preserved in the memory of his followers, different versions of what is substantially the same matter soon become current,' Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

Christian Apologetics waits to be written on this basis. Of course, behind the sources lies the ultimate problem of the primitive tradition: do the sayings come from the lips of Jesus? Apart from a few passages which will always present difficulties, most critics would give the affirmative answer. The extremer critics like R. Bultmann[1] and A. Loisy[2] no doubt prefer to describe many sayings as 'community-sayings'; but such terms are blank labels. 'Communities', writes B. S. Easton, 'do not create sayings; such creation comes from individuals and from individuals only. Communities may adopt and transmit sayings and may modify and standardize them in transmission, but the sayings themselves must first exist.'[3] After a careful investigation from a new point of view, Easton's conclusion is: 'The primary historic value of the Synoptists is not for their own age but for the tradition of the teachings of Jesus.'[4]

NOTE.—Among American scholars, B. S. Easton (*The Gospel according to St. Luke*, pp. xxiii *ff.*, *Christ in the Gospels*, p. 16), and F. C. Grant (*The Growth of the Gospels*, pp. 59–64) think that L was a document, but doubt the existence of M. They do not seem to me to have done justice to the M Hypothesis, and I still think that L was an oral source which Luke was the first to reduce to written form. It is interesting to note that W. Bussmann (*Synoptische Studien*, III, pp. 145 *ff.*), independently of Streeter, has argued for a source M which includes most of the material described on pp. 31*f.* Recently T. W. Manson has treated the problems of the M and L sources in *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, Part II, pp. 313–20, 441–635.

[1] Cf. *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921). It is noteworthy that in his more recent book, *Jesus* (1925), Bultmann treats many of his 'community-sayings' as a valid basis for the actual teaching of Jesus. Cf., e.g., pp. 60, 72, 114–16, &c.

[2] Cf. *L'évangile selon Luc.* See my article, 'The Alleged Neglect of M. Loisy', *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1926.

[3] *The Gospel before the Gospels*, p. 116.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

V

PROTO-LUKE

The source Q, as we have described it, was a document almost certain to be supplemented and thrown into narrative form. This task appears to have been attempted by Luke, 'the beloved physician', as the result of his visit to Caesarea about the year A.D. 60.

Together with the Apostle Paul, Luke remained for some time in the house of Philip the Evangelist and his four daughters (Acts xxi. 8), and it was not until two years later, after Paul's visit to Jerusalem and his subsequent imprisonment at Caesarea (Acts xxiv. 27), that the two sailed for Rome (Acts xxvii. 1). Already Luke was writing in his diary an account of his journeys with the Apostle, and it is not likely that he would neglect the priceless opportunity of gathering Caesarean traditions of the story of Jesus for later literary purposes. If we assume that he already had a copy of Q in his possession, we have all the conditions required to account for the composition of that first stage in the writing of the Third Gospel which has come to be known as 'Proto-Luke'.

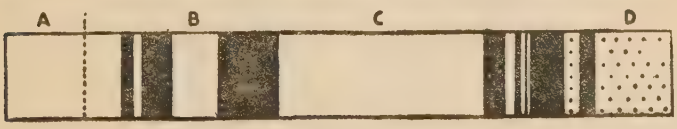
The Proto-Luke Hypothesis

The Proto-Luke Hypothesis is not an imaginative account of the composition of Luke forced on the text, but an attempt to explain a complicated series of facts within the Gospel itself. As such it was first presented by Canon Streeter in an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for October, 1921.[1] Until then the common assumption was that Mark was the foundation of the Third Gospel, and that into this source material from Q and L had been fitted mainly at

[1] The substance of the article in a revised and enlarged form is given in the chapter on Proto-Luke in *The Four Gospels*, pp. 199–222.

two points, the so-called 'lesser and greater interpolations' (Luke vi. 20–viii. 3 and Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14).[1] Streeter reverses this hypothesis. He suggests that the foundation is a composite document, consisting of material taken from Q and L, and that subsequently, perhaps twenty years later, this draft was expanded by extracts from Mark. If the older view can be represented by the formula *Mark* + *Q*+*L*+*Birth-Stories*=*Luke*, the new suggestion can be represented by (*Q*+*L*)+*Mark*+*Birth-Stories*=*Luke*. The practical value of this hypothesis will be apparent at once, since Proto-Luke (Q+L)—if it really existed—is a document slightly earlier than Mark and completely independent of Mark.

But is the hypothesis sound? The following diagram will supply material for a preliminary study of this question.



A = the Birth-Stories; B = vi. 12–viii. 3;
C = ix. 51–xviii. 14; D = The Passion Narrative.

The rectangle represents the whole of Luke's Gospel, the shaded parts indicating the sections which have been taken from Mark, and the white spaces the non-Markan material. Two sections in the diagram are dotted (the Eschatological Discourse of Luke xxi. 12–38 and the Passion narrative, Luke xxii. 14–xxiv) because these sections, while fundamentally non-Markan, probably contain a number of 'Markan insertions'. It will be seen that even if these sections were shaded, the amount of Markan matter relative to the whole Gospel is small: the proportion would be only about one in three. Again, the peculiar

[1] For suggestions leading up to the Proto-Luke Hypothesis in the works of P. Feine, B. Weiss, J. Weiss, F. C. Burkitt, V. H. Stanton, J. C. Hawkins, J. V. Bartlet, W. Sanday, A. M. Perry, see my discussion in *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 2–27.

distribution of the Markan and non-Markan material in alternate blocks is also remarkable: it would be very difficult indeed to construct a similar diagram in the case of Matthew, for here the various sources are skilfully woven together. Still more significant is the fact that Q is to be found in the white spaces only, where it is combined with L. The diagram at once suggests to the eye the unsatisfactory character of the theory that Mark is Luke's foundation source: the Markan sections have rather the appearance of 'insertions' in an already existing whole.

Grounds for the Proto-Luke Hypothesis[1]

The arguments on which the hypothesis rests can only be indicated here. It should be remembered that their force is *cumulative*. The hypothesis accounts for quite a number of facts when these are *considered together*.

(1) In the Passion narrative (Luke xxii. 14–xxiv. 11) Luke appears merely to have added short extracts from Mark to a non-Markan source. In other words, the arrangement of alternate strips of Markan and non-Markan material, which is characteristic of the Gospel as a whole, is repeated in miniature in the Passion narrative where the Markan passages have the appearance of secondary strata. Striking examples of this will be found in Luke xxii. 53b–61, xxiii. 3, and 44 *f.*, for when these 'Markan passages' are removed, the continuity of the Lukan Passion narrative is more apparent. It is also significant that, while, as Sir John C. Hawkins[2] showed, there are twelve transpositions or inversions of Mark's order in Luke xxii. 14–xxiv. 11, nearly all the 'Markan insertions'[3] stand in Luke in their original *Markan* order.[4] This fact suggests that they were selected, and subse-

[1] See B. H. Streeter's *Four Gospels*, pp. 201 *ff.*, and my own detailed discussion in *Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis*.
[2] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 80–4.
[3] See the list suggested on p. 41.
[4] Cf. *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 71–5.

quently inserted in Luke, one by one. The transpositions noted by Sir John C. Hawkins are the results of this editorial process. (2) In the Eschatological Discourse (Luke xxi. 5–38) the same phenomena recur in verses 12–19 and 20–36, and while there is no good reason to ascribe any of this material to Proto-Luke, its arrangement illustrates the structure of the Gospel. (3) The Markan sections of the Gospel in no sense form a continuous whole; on the contrary, they might almost be described as 'topical panels'. Thus, Luke iv. 31–44 describes twenty-four hours in the life of Jesus, and Luke v. 12–vi. 11 consists of stories of miracles and of conflicts with the authorities. Luke viii. 4–ix. 50 contains Galilean material: its first part (viii. 4–21) consists of parabolic and didactic material, its second (viii. 22–ix. 17) of miracles and controversy-stories, its third (ix. 18–50) has Messiahship, discipleship, and suffering as its principal topics. Luke xviii. 15–43 is a string of journey-stories. Luke xix. 29–36 and Luke xix. 45*f.* are single incidents, Luke xx. 1–xxi. 11 records the great day of controversy in Jerusalem, and Luke xxii. 1–13 tells of the circumstances leading up to the Passion Story. (4) The non-Markan sections, on the other hand, present a continuous story. We can omit all the parts of the diagram which are shaded, together with the Birth-stories of Luke i and ii, and still retain a readable narrative. (5) The deficiencies of this narrative, its lack of sufficient Galilean material, of Nature-miracles, and of parables relating to the Kingdom, are precisely the points supplied by the Markan sections already mentioned. This suggests that Mark is a quarry from which stone is obtained to enlarge an existing building. (6) The same explanation accounts for the 'Markan omissions' in Luke. The fact that Luke omits about half Mark's Gospel has often been discussed and various explanations have been offered. According to the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, Luke omits this material either because he prefers a parallel or

a similar version already present in Proto-Luke, or because he does not need the matter in question for the purpose of expanding this document to form the Third Gospel. Streeter has drawn special attention to five alternative versions[1] of narratives and discourses which are given in Luke, as compared with Mark, in a *completely different context*. He also shows that this applies to cases where Mark's version is fuller and more interesting. 'It would look, then, as if Luke's *preference is for the non-Markan source as a whole*, not merely for particular items in it on account of their intrinsic merit'.[2] (7) Again, the Proto-Luke Hypothesis explains peculiar features within the Third Gospel: e.g., the elaborate sixfold date in iii. 1 *f.*[3] and the position given to the Genealogy in iii. 23–38.[4] (8) Finally, the hypothesis does full justice to the implications of Luke's Preface (i. 1–4) and is in agreement with his literary methods in the composition of the Acts of the Apostles.[5]

Authorship, Date, and Text of Proto-Luke

The style, treatment, and characteristic ideas of Proto-Luke stamp this document as the work of Luke himself.[6] It is best to assign its composition to the period A.D. 60–5, after Luke had left Caesarea for Rome, for in this way we account best for the limitations of Proto-Luke which precluded its publication as a separate work. The text of

[1] The Beelzebub Controversy (Luke xi. 14–23; cf. Mark iii. 22 *ff.*), the Mustard Seed (Luke xiii. 18 *f.*, cf. Mark iv. 30 *ff.*), the Rejection at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16–30, cf. Mark vi. 1 *ff.*), the Anointing (Luke vii. 36 *ff.*, cf. Mark xiv. 3 *ff.*), and the Great Commandment (Luke x. 25–8, cf. Mark xii. 28 *ff.*). Cf. *The Four Gospels*, pp. 209 *f.*

[2] Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[3] Luke iii. 1 *f.* reads like the beginning of a book. Cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[4] In Proto-Luke the Genealogy appears immediately after the first reference to Jesus in that document (Luke iii. 21 *f.*). For other examples see *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 195 *f.*

[5] Compare the use of the 'We-sections' in the structure of the second part of the Acts (xvi. 10–17, xx. 5–15, xxi. 1–18, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16). Cf. *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 198–201.

[6] Cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–21; and *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 202–15.

Proto-Luke will be found in the following passages: Luke iii. 1–iv. 30; v. 1–11; vi. 12–viii. 3; ix. 51–xviii. 14; xix. 1–28, 37–44, 47–8; xxii. 14–xxiv. In the last-named section (the Passion narrative), Markan insertions probably appear in Luke xxii. 19a, 22, 34, 46b (?), 50b, 52–3a, 54b–61, xxiii. 3, 26, 34b (?), 38, 44–5, 50–4, xxiv. 10 (?). In a few cases there appear to be signs of editorial revision, but, in view of the relatively conservative spirit in which Luke treats his sources,[1] there is no reason to suspect extensive modifications: the passages named above probably represent the original document with very considerable fidelity.[2]

Difficulties

Hypotheses are often confronted by problems which can be explained only in part, but these do not become formidable until their difficulty becomes greater than that of the hypothesis itself. This situation is not true of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis, although undoubtedly difficulties[3] exist. (1) There are a few phrases in Luke iii. 1–iv. 30, which are identical with corresponding Markan phrases: e.g. iii. 3 ('preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins', cf. Mark i. 4), and iii. 16 ('the latchet of whose shoes', cf. Mark i. 7). These instances, and the still slighter traces in iii. 21 *f.* are much too few to refute the contention that iii. 1–iv. 30 is a solid block of

[1] 'The words of Jesus themselves, the *verba ipsissima*, whether reported by Mark or found in the source designated as Q, have rarely been retouched by the author of the third Gospel to give them a wider scope or application,' H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke*, p. 124.

[2] For a provisional draft of the text of Proto-Luke, see my *First Draft of St. Luke's Gospel* (S.P.C.K., 1927).

[3] Cf. W. K. L. Clarke, *Theology*, July, 1926; J. M. Creed, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1927; J. W. Hunkin, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1927; W. Lockton, *Certain Alleged Gospel Sources*, 1927; C. S. Petrie, *The Expository Times*, liv, pp. 172–7, April, 1943; also articles by the present writer in *Theology*, February, 1927, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1928, *The Journal of Religion*, April, 1928, *The Expository Times*, liv, pp. 219–22, May, 1943.

non-Markan matter.[1] We must therefore suppose, either that these phrases stood in Q, despite their absence from Matthew, or that they were added to the text of Proto-Luke when the Third Gospel was compiled. (2) A second difficulty is the sketchy character of ix. 51–xviii. 14, when considered as a journey-narrative. This objection, however, asks too much of the Evangelist whose work is limited by his information. In any case, he has not been able to draw the threads more firmly together when shaping the Gospel itself. (3) Again, gaps are visible between viii. 3 and ix. 51, and between xix. 48 and xxii. 14. These cannot be denied. As regards the former, it should be noted that there are traces of non-Markan material in ix. 28–45, some of which may have found a place in Proto-Luke. As regards the gap before xxii. 14 *ff.*, xxii. 1–13 seems to have replaced the original introduction to the Passion narrative in Proto-Luke.[2] (4) Some scholars, and notably J. M. Creed (cf. *The Expository Times*, xlvi. 101 *ff.*, 236 *ff.*, 378 *f.*), prefer to explain the Lukan Passion narrative as a re-writing of Mark.[3]

The Value of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis

(1) If the hypothesis is sound, 'we must recognize in Proto-Luke the existence of another authority comparable to Mark'. This is Streeter's claim[4] and its importance can hardly be exaggerated.

(2) The agreement between Proto-Luke and John implies that to this extent Johannine traditions rest on early foundations.[5] These agreements include the references to Annas, Martha and Mary, Samaritan incidents, the Jerusalem Appearances of the Risen Lord, and numerous

[1] Cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 *f.*
[2] Cf. *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 177–81.
[3] The same view is maintained by Professor Allan Barr, *The Expositor Times*, lv., pp. 227–31, June, 1944.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 222.
[5] Cf. *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 221–30.

points of detail, besides the probability that Proto-Luke agreed with John regarding the date of the Supper.[1]

(3) Proto-Luke roots in the soil of early Gospel tradition ideas which are characteristic of Paul. Examples of this are to be found in the stories of the Call of Simon, the Woman in the City, Zacchaeus, and the Penitent Thief, and in the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Pharisee and Publican.

(4) Lastly, the hypothesis means that the Lukan portraiture of Jesus, with its virile strokes and its gracious yet tragic colouring, together with the teaching and the parables found in Luke alone, represent a comparatively early stage of the Gospel tradition. Proto-Luke reveals not only the artistry of Luke, but the Caesarean testimony of A.D. 60, which rests ultimately on the witness of women who came with Jesus out of Galilee and 'followed with him'.[2]

NOTE.—For further discussion of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis see my *Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, App. A, and F. C. Grant's *Growth of the Gospels*, pp. 159–63. See also F. B. Clogg, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (1937), pp. 191–6, 241.

[1] On the significance of Luke xxii. 15 *f.*, cf. H. M. Foston, *The Evening of the Last Supper* (1928), pp. 45 *ff.*; Vincent Taylor, *Jesus and His Sacrifice*, p. 180.

[2] 'Proto-Luke is pre-eminently the Gospel of Woman, and it is to the witness borne by women who saw and heard, that Criticism must attribute the earliest attempt to tell the Story of Jesus,' *Behind the Third Gospel*, p. 214.

VI

THE MARKAN SOURCE

The broader characteristics of the Gospel of Mark, its special interests and its value, will be considered later: here the point to be examined is its use by the later Evangelists as a source, and the special problems which belong to it as such. Why do we claim that Mark was one of the principal sources used by Luke and Matthew, and in a measure by John? In what form was the source available to them, how did they use it, and what are the elements which constitute it? The fundamental question is, of course, that of the priority of Mark, and the reasons for asserting this must first be given.

Reasons for Affirming the Priority of Mark

(1) There are parallels to all but about sixty[1] of Mark's 661 verses in Matthew, and to about half of these verses in Luke,[2] while the verbal agreement amounts in Matthew to fifty-one per cent., and in Luke to fifty-three per cent.[3]

(2) A glance at a synopsis[4] is enough to show the striking agreement in the *order* in which the Synoptic Gospels record the same incidents. The agreement is by no means unbroken, and it is just the differences which are significant. Examination will show that Mark is always in the

[1] Some of these verses have parallels in Luke, and there are only thirty-one verses in Mark which are unrepresented in either Luke or Matthew. Cf. A. E. J. Rawlinson, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. xxxv.

[2] Streeter estimates the number at 350. Cf. *The Four Gospels*, p. 160.

[3] In themselves, of course, these statistics would not be conclusive: other solutions would be possible. It is the association of these facts with other considerations which proves that Matthew and Luke have used Mark as a source.

[4] That is, an arrangement of the Gospels in parallel columns. The best in English is J. M. Thompson's *The Synoptic Gospels*. For the Greek text, the most useful is A. Huck's *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, an English edition of which (*A Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*) has been prepared by F. L. Cross.

majority; in other words, Mark and Matthew agree against Luke, or Mark and Luke against Matthew. There are no cases in which Matthew and Luke agree against Mark.

(3) Instances of *stylistic* or *grammatical* changes are also significant. Naturally, an adequate study of this question can only be made by examining the Greek text, but some of the examples are equally clear in English. For instance, there are 151 cases of the Historic Present in Mark, i.e. for purpose of vividness the verb is used in the present tense ('he saith', &c.). In Matthew there are parallels to these in only twenty-one cases, and in Luke in a single case only; where these writers do not omit the word, they clearly prefer to use, as a general rule, some form of the past tense ('he said', &c.).[1] Again, there are eight cases in which Mark records Aramaic words used by Jesus or others (e.g. 'Talitha, cumi', 'ephphatha', &c.). Of these only one ('Golgotha'), is given by Matthew,[2] and none by Luke. Further, the fuller expressions characteristic of Mark's style ('And at even, when the sun did set', i. 32) are almost always simplified or omitted in Matthew and Luke; and redundant negatives, parentheses, and harsh constructions are less common. These facts considerably strengthen the argument that Matthew and Luke use Mark as a source.

(4) Further support is given by instances of what appear to be *conscious alterations* of Markan statements which might be misunderstood or raise difficulties. One of the most striking illustrations of this appears in connexion with Mark's account of the Rejection at Nazareth (vi. 1–6), where Mark roundly declares: 'And he could there do no mighty work, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and healed them. And he marvelled because of their

[1] Cf. Sir John C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* (2nd ed.), pp. 143–9. In the entire Gospel Matthew has ninety-three Historic Presents, and Luke nine.

[2] But for the cry on the Cross Matthew gives the Hebrew equivalent, 'Eli, Eli . . .', xxvii. 46.

unbelief.' Luke omits this statement, and in Matthew (xiii. 58) it appears in the more sober form: 'And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.' Again, 'Why callest thou me good?' (Mark x. 18), repeated in Luke (xviii. 19), appears in Matthew (xix. 17) in the form: 'Why askest thou me concerning that which is good?' Further, the first and third Evangelists appear to have avoided the curt Markan question, 'Master, carest thou not that we perish?' (iv. 38), Luke's version being, 'Master, master, we perish' (viii. 24), and Matthew's, 'Save, Lord; we perish' (viii. 25).

(5) Again, we give the simplest and most natural account of the composition of the Synoptics, if we assume that Matthew and Luke use Mark as a source. On this hypothesis, Matthew inserts matter from Q and from other sources into the Markan framework at suitable points, or alters Mark's order for topical reasons or because of the subject-matter of his non-Markan material.[1] Luke, on the other hand, uses sections of Mark to supply the deficiencies of Proto-Luke. No doubt the literary processes involved are sometimes complicated, but they are always intelligible. This, however, cannot be said if we reverse the hypothesis and make Mark dependent on Matthew and Luke, or even on either. In this case we have to explain, not only the most extensive and astonishing omissions, but also the intricate process by which the graphic and relatively simple Gospel of Mark has been compiled.

[1] For example, after recording the Call of the First Disciples (Mark i. 16–20), Matthew passes by for the moment the succeeding Markan matter until he comes to Mark i. 39 ('And he went . . . throughout all Galilee'), which he expands to form an introduction to the Sermon on the Mount. Returning to Mark i. 21–8, he uses a single verse ('And they were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes', Mark i. 22) to form the concluding summary to the Sermon. Then, after recording the loosely connected story of the Cure of the Leper (Mark i. 40–5), and the story of the Healing of the Centurion's Servant (taken from Q), Matthew adds Mark i. 29–31 (The Healing of Peter's Wife's Mother) and Mark i. 32–4 (Healings in the Evening), to form the first part of a chapter (viii.) which is almost entirely devoted to healing miracles.

(6) Finally, the *numerous vivid details peculiar to Mark* are better explained as points which Matthew and Luke have softened or omitted than as additions by which Mark embellishes a derived sketch. Illustrations of these abound in narratives like the Storm on the Lake, the Gerasene Demoniac, and the Epileptic Lad.[1]

Taken together, the foregoing considerations adequately establish the priority of Mark, a view which is almost universally held by New Testament scholars.[2] At the same time, certain difficulties remain which are insufficient to invalidate this hypothesis but which require further explanation. There are many cases where Matthew and Luke share words and expressions which do not appear in Mark; many of these are quite trifling in importance, but others present a real problem. Again, the Markan passages which Matthew and Luke omit call for explanation, and especially Mark vi. 45–viii. 26 ('The Great Omission') which is almost entirely unrepresented in Luke.

The Agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark

The more important cases[3] have been explained as indicating that Matthew and Luke used, not our present Mark, but either an earlier form (the *Ur-Markus*), or a later and more polished version.[4] But recently Streeter[5]

[1] Cf. also the Markan references to the 'anger' (iii. 5 and i. 41 in the original text) and 'indignation' (x. 14) of Jesus, and the passages which speak of the disciples in disparaging terms (iv. 13, vi. 52, viii. 17 *f.*). A few scribal or editorial additions to the Markan text are commonly found in i. 2 (?) (the quotation from Malachi), ii. 19b, 20 ('as long as they have the bridegroom with them . . .'), ii. 26 ('when Abiathar was high priest'), vii. 3 ('and all the Jews'), viii. 35 and x. 29 ('and the gospel's', 'and for the gospel's sake'), and ix. 41 ('because ye are Christ's'). Cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. xlv., and Hawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[2] For the contrary view see H. G. Jameson, *The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels* (1922), and W. Lockton, *The Three Traditions in the Gospels* (1926).

[3] J. C. Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 *f.*, cites twenty of these. They have been examined by F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 42–58, who thinks the evidence 'extremely weak' and that we are not compelled by it to imagine a hypothetical *Ur-Markus* (p. 58).

[4] Cf. W. Sanday, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 19–24.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 295–331.

has shown that the most striking instances of agreement are really due to the accidents of scribal transmission; that is to say, they are due to modifications of the text of Matthew or Luke by copyists more familiar with the text of the parallel Gospel. These conclusions, moreover, have so far been independently confirmed by a detailed examination of the evidence by Professor C. H. Turner's Seminar at Oxford.[1] The 'agreements' then, are illusory, and on this ground there is no reason to think that the basal source was anything other than our present Mark.

The 'Great Omission' (Mark vi. 45–viii. 26)

The question of the omission of Markan material by Matthew and Luke becomes serious only in the case of Mark vi. 45–viii. 26. The absence of this considerable section from Luke has been explained as (*a*) accidental,[2] (*b*) intentional,[3] (*c*) due to the fact that it is a later insertion in Mark,[4] (*d*) caused by Luke's use of a mutilated copy of Mark from which the section was missing.[5] The third of these views has been held by many who maintain the *Ur-Markus* hypothesis, but it is exposed to the formidable difficulty that the style of the section is so distinctly Markan. The other suggestions give good reasons for the omission, but perhaps the still better explanation is, that this particular section is just the one which Luke would *not* be likely to select for the purpose of expanding Proto-Luke to form the Third Gospel.[6] Thus, neither the

[1] Cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii *n.*

[2] By J. M. Thompson, *Miracles in the N.T.*, pp. 81–3, and, in part, by J. C. Hawkins, *Oxford Studies*, p. 74.

[3] By Wernle, von Soden, Sanday, Moffatt, Wellhausen, and, in part, by Loisy, Hawkins, and Stanton.

[4] By Wright, Williams, Holdsworth, Wendling, and, in part, by Loisy and Stanton. This view has recently been revived by W. Bussmann, *Synoptische Studien*, I, pp. 43–6.

[5] By Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 *ff.*

[6] Luke's chief desire was for Galilean material, and Mark vi. 45–viii. 26 mainly records incidents which happened outside Galilee. Moreover, the section contains material which Luke might think not suitable for his purpose. Cf. *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 138–40, 189 *f.*

'omissions' nor the 'agreements' prove that the later Evangelists used a different form of Mark.

The Lost Ending

The last twelve verses (xvi. 9–20) are not the original ending of Mark, but were added early in the second century. We infer this from the state of the textual evidence and the fact that these verses differ in vocabulary and style from the rest of the Gospel. The verses are omitted by B, ℵ, Syr-Sin, and most MSS. of the Armenian version, and Eusebius states that in the best MSS. known to him the Gospel ended with the words, 'for they were afraid' (xvi. 8). The 'Shorter Conclusion', along with xvi. 9-20, is found in L, Ψ, 579, the Sahidic and Aethiopic versions, the Harclean Syriac, and the earliest Bohairic MS.; but in *k* it stands alone. The 'Shorter Conclusion' reads as follows: 'And all that had been commanded them they briefly reported to Peter and his company; and after these things Jesus Himself appeared, and from the East to the West sent through them the sacred and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation.' As Streeter says, this is 'obviously an attempt by some early editor to heal the gaping wound'.[1] After xvi. 14, yet a third ending is given in W. The tenth-century Armenian MS, which ascribes xvi. 9–20 to 'the presbyter Ariston', is too late to be of any value, and it is not probable that the original ending is reflected in Matthew, the Gospel of Peter, or John xxi.[2]

The want of the original ending has been variously explained as intentional, as accidental, or as due to the death or arrest of Mark before the Gospel was finished. It is not likely that the conclusion was intentionally suppressed, since at xvi. 8 the break is made in the middle of a

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

[2] For further details see Moffatt's *Introduction*, pp. 240 *ff.*, Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 *ff.*; and Rawlinson's valuable note, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 *ff.*

sentence.[1] Much more can be said for the view that the end of the papyrus roll on which Mark was written was accidentally or violently destroyed.[2] But if so, the loss must have been a very early one, and it is surprising that this damaged copy should be the sole legitimate ancestor of all existing manuscripts, including the copies used by Matthew and Luke, unless, of course, the loss befell the original writing itself. Perhaps, then, the best explanation is that the Gospel was never finished. 'The author broke off in the middle of a sentence, and never resumed. Did he die? Was he suddenly arrested and martyred? Or did he leave Rome, where he was working, and for some reason never return? We have no data for answering these questions, but at least it is probable that even if the original autograph of the Gospel were damaged or torn, the missing portion would surely have been restored by the author himself, had he been living and accessible.'[3]

The Little Apocalypse

It is widely believed that in Mark xiii. sayings of Jesus have been combined with a short Jewish Christian Apocalypse. First suggested by Colani in 1864, this hypothesis has won increasing acceptance, and is even described by J. Moffatt as a *sententia recepta* of Synoptic Criticism.[4] The reconstruction of this Apocalypse is

[1] This is more apparent in the Greek text which seems to require a clause beginning with the word 'lest'. The same objection applies to the suggestion that Mark himself intended to end with the account of the Empty Tomb. See Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II, pp. 200 *f.* For the view that Mark xvi. 8 is the original end of the Gospel, see the article of J. M. Creed, 'The Conclusion of the Gospel according to Saint Mark', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXI, pp. 175–80; *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, pp. 314 *f.* See also R. H. Lightfoot, *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels*, 1938, pp. 1–48.

[2] Cf. Streeter. 'That the little library of the Church . . . should have suffered in some "pogrom" is highly credible', *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[3] Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[4] *Introduction*, p. 209. Cf. also Stanton, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115–21; Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 491–4; Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–82, 187 *f.*; T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus* (1931), pp. 260–3.

speculative, and no more can be said than that its presence seems visible in verses 7–8 (Messianic Woes), 14–20 (Appearance of the personal Anti-Christ), and 24–7 (Appearance of the Son of Man). Its author was probably a Christian prophet who interpreted the mysterious 'abomination that maketh desolate' (Daniel ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11) with reference to his own times, and penned a 'fly-sheet' of warning and counsel to his fellow-Christians. A date previous to the investment of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) is suggested by the warning to flee to the mountains, since as a matter of fact the Christians of Jerusalem withdrew across the Jordan to Pella when the city was menaced (Eus., *H.E.*, III, v. 3).

Date

The date of Mark is determined by (1) the date of the Little Apocalypse (A.D. 60–5), (2) the references to persecution in the Gospel,[1] and (3) the external evidence. Referring to Peter and Paul, Irenaeus (*c.* A.D. 185) writes: 'And after their deaths Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also handed down to us in writing the things which Peter had proclaimed' (*Adv. Haer.*, III, i. 2). It has been maintained that Irenaeus does not mean to give chronological information,[2] but this view rests on a strained interpretation of his words. Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 200) says that Mark wrote during the lifetime of Peter,[3] but Irenaeus is the better authority.[4]

In *The Gospel of Mark* (1925) B. W. Bacon has recently contended that the Apocalyptic Discourse points to a date *after* the Fall of Jerusalem, and that this is the best explanation of the vague phrase 'standing where he ought not'

[1] Cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi *ff.*

[2] Especially by J. Chapman, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vi. pp. 563 *ff.*; A. Harnack, *The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, pp. 129 *ff.*; and W. C. Allen, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, i. 474.

[3] Eus., *H.E.*, VI, 14.

[4] Cf. H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. xl.

(xiii. 14). It is true that the Apocalypse of 2 Thessalonians ii. 1 *ff.* explicitly describes 'the man of sin' sitting 'in the temple of God'; but the vaguer reference of Mark xiii. 14 is in harmony with the mysterious character of the Markan Apocalypse and does not necessarily imply that the Temple has been destroyed. The presumption is rather that it still stands (cf. Mark xiii. 14 and Luke xxi. 20); and this view is confirmed by the use which Mark makes of the Little Apocalypse, and especially by the fact that he begins the chapter with the exclamation of the disciples: 'Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings!', and the prophecy by Jesus of the destruction of the Temple (cf. xiii. 1 *f.*). For these reasons the Gospel should be dated within the years A.D. 65–70.[1]

Authorship, Place of Origin, and Original Language

There is no reason to doubt the statements of Papias[2] and Irenaeus which ascribe the Gospel to Mark, usually identified with the John Mark of the Acts; and the Roman origin of the Gospel is supported by the witness of Irenaeus and Clement, and by passages like 2 Timothy iv. 11 and 1 Peter v. 13, which associate Mark with Rome. Various attempts have been made by F. Blass, J. Wellhausen, W. C. Allen, and C. C. Torrey to prove that the Gospel was originally written in Aramaic, but they have not succeeded in proving more than the Semitic character of the author's material, and the probability is that Mark was written in 'translation Greek'.[3]

[1] Cf. Swete, *op. cit.*, p. xl; Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 488 *ff.*; Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. xxix; J. Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity*, I, pp. 694 *f.* B. W. Bacon dates the Gospel *c.* A.D. 80; cf. *The Gospel of Mark: Its Composition and Date* (1925); *Studies in Matthew* (1930), p. 64.

[2] The Papias tradition is discussed in the next chapter.

[3] Cf. W. F. Howard in the Appendix on Semitisms in J. H. Moulton's *Grammar*, ii, p. 481.

VII

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK

It will be useful to consider the characteristics of Mark first, since these of necessity bear on the question of origin.

The Characteristics of Mark

(1) The *vividness* of the record is noted at once by every reader. It is this Gospel which describes the waves beating into the boat while Jesus is 'asleep on the cushion' (iv. 37*f.*), which depicts the demoniac among the tombs 'crying out, and cutting himself with stones' (v. 5), and which tells of the amazed crowds which ran to greet Jesus on His descent from the mount, and of the father's distress over his son possessed by a dumb spirit (ix. 14*ff.*). The reference to the disciples who 'tracked down' Jesus when He arose early and departed to a desert place (i. 35*ff.*), the account of the disposal of the five thousand 'in ranks' (vi. 40), the story of the blind man who is healed gradually so that at first he sees men 'as trees, walking' (viii. 24), the account of the people who 'laid the sick in the marketplaces, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment' (vi. 56)—these are but a few examples of Mark's vivid narration, which suggests that for much of his material he has access to the records of eyewitnesses.[1]

(2) A second characteristic of the Gospel is the orderly *arrangement* of its matter. After a brief reference to John's preaching and witness, and the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus, the story plunges into the account of the Galilean

[1] Cf. the suggestion of J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, p. 138, noted by K. L. Schmidt (*Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, p. 44), that in the story of the call of the Disciples (i. 16–20) the phrase 'passing by' is said more from the standpoint of the fishermen on the water than from the standpoint of Jesus.

Mission. A day of twenty-four hours is narrated (i. 21–38), and a selection is given of five typical narratives which culminate in the hostility of the Pharisees and the Herodians (iii. 6). After an account of the Appointment of the Twelve, and the Beelzebub Controversy, a description of the lakeside preaching follows (iv. 1–34), and then a section descriptive of some of Jesus's mighty works (iv. 35–v. 43). From vi. 30 to viii. 26 Jesus for the most part is in retirement outside Galilee proper, and from viii. 27 onwards He is mainly concerned with the instruction of His disciples. The great day near Caesarea Philippi is followed by the first prediction of the Passion (viii. 31; cf. ix. 31, x. 33*f.*), and the story of the Transfiguration 'after six days' (ix. 2–8). With x. 1 begins the account of the last journey to Jerusalem, the activity of Jesus in and about the city, and in xiv. 1–xvi. 8 the crowning events of the Passion and Resurrection are described. That there are many gaps in this outline, and that the arrangement is often topical, cannot be denied; but the outline itself, and the looseness with which it is drawn, suggest that it reflects good tradition.[1]

(3) The *realism* with which the humanity of Jesus and the want of apprehension shown by His disciples are described, is yet another characteristic of Mark. These points have already been emphasized in discussing the relation of Matthew and Luke to Mark.

(4) Love of the supernatural is characteristic of all the Evangelists, but in Mark there is a special interest in exorcism, which together with preaching is looked upon as the distinctive work of Jesus (i. 39) and the Twelve (vi. 7).[2] In all the healing miracles there is a complete

[1] 'The verisimilitude of the development of the ministry as given in Mark is a miracle of artistry if it cannot be traced back to the coherent memory of a writer who recorded the story as he had heard it from one who was himself no small part in the developing drama'. W. F. Howard, *The London Quarterly Review* (July, 1927), p. 79. Cf. A. H. McNeile, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, p. 451.

[2] Cf. A. E. J. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xlvi–l.

want of magical tendencies,[1] and again and again *faith* is either required or assumed.[2] It is when Jesus sees the faith of the four that He addresses the paralytic (ii. 5); 'Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole' is His word to the woman with the issue of blood (v. 34; cf. x. 52); while the most striking example of all is the reply to the father of the epileptic lad: 'If thou canst! All things are possible to him that believeth' (ix. 23). Even the nature miracles, which present such grave difficulties for the modern mind, are described in a manner far removed from any thought of invention and with details which bespeak good tradition.

(5) Side by side with the Markan realism is the emphasis laid on the *Messiahship of Jesus*. At His Baptism He is declared to be God's 'beloved Son' (i. 11), and this assurance is repeated at the Transfiguration (ix. 7). Peter's confession is sought by Jesus, and is implicitly accepted and interpreted by Him (viii. 27 *ff.*). The high priest's question: 'Art thou the Christ, the son of the Blessed?' is answered explicitly in the words: 'I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven' (xiv. 61 *f.*). The Messiahship in question is not that of the Davidic King (cf. xii. 35 *ff.*), but that of the Apocalyptic Son, modified by ideas derived from the Servant-conception of Isaiah xl–lv (cf. i. 11, viii. 31, ix. 7, 31, x. 33, 45).[3]

(6) Especially striking is the note of *reserve* with which

[1] There are no cases, as in Jewish and Greek stories, of daemons which shatter a statue or overturn a bowl in order that the reality of the exorcism may be proved, nor is the daemon drawn from the nose of the possessed man by means of a ring. Cf. E. Fascher *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*, pp. 127 *f.* 'In the case of Jesus a word is enough. . . . One will seek in vain for magical manipulations of the same kind in our N.T. stories' (*ibid.*).

[2] 'Faith, as illustrated in Mark's Gospel, may be defined as a painstaking and concentrated effort to obtain blessing for oneself or for others, material or spiritual, inspired by a confident belief that God in Jesus can supply all human need', J. A. Findlay, *Jesus as they saw Him*, p. 107.

[3] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark*, pp. 225–8; A. E. J. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. liv, and *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, p. 49.

the idea of the Son of man is put forward. The demoniacs who confess Jesus as the Christ are silenced (i. 25, 34, iii. 12), and charges to secrecy are laid on those who are healed (i. 43 *f.*, v. 43, vii. 36, viii. 26) even in circumstances where silence is almost impossible. Parallel features are the references to the retirement of Jesus with His disciples for purposes of fuller instruction (iv. 10, 34, vii. 17, ix. 28), the explanation of the teaching by parables (iv. 11 *f.*), and the fruitless attempts to teach the Twelve the mysterious way of Messianic suffering (viii. 31, ix. 31 *f.*, x. 32 *f.*). M. Dibelius has described Mark as a book of secret epiphanies.[1] There can be no doubt that the note of mystery is one of its outstanding characteristics.

(7) Lastly, and perhaps most notably of all, the thought of *suffering* and the doctrine of *the Cross* are stressed again and again. The story of the Passion occupies nearly a third of the record, and its shadows lie on some of the earliest pages of the Gospel (cf. ii. 20, iii. 6). The way of discipleship is the way of cross-bearing (viii. 34 *ff.*), and implies a baptism of suffering and the drinking of a cup (x. 38 *f.*). No saying is more characteristic of the Markan representation than the words of Jesus: 'The Son of man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many' (x. 45).

Note on the Alleged Paulinism of Mark

The view that Mark reflects Pauline teaching was put forward by G. Volkmar in opposition to the Tübingen critics, and has steadily been maintained in a series of learned works by B. W. Bacon[2] for twenty years.

The main points which have figured in the discussion are: the Markan emphasis on the doctrine of the Cross;

[1] *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, p. 64. 'Secret manifestation—this is the characteristic of the first Markan sections: under this view-point has Mark gathered and worked up the tradition' (p. 65).

[2] *The Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* (1919), *Jesus and Paul* (1920), *The Gospel of Mark* (1925), Part IV.

the Eschatological Discourse (xiii; cf. 1 Thessalonians iv. 13–7; 2 Thessalonians ii. 1–15); the Parables of the Kingdom (iv. 1–34, cf. Romans ix.–xi.); the sayings on renunciation and stumbling (ix. 30–50, cf. Romans xiv. 1–xv. 13); the section on Distinction of Meats (vii. 1–23; cf. 1 Corinthians x. 23 *ff.*; Romans xiv. 8); the question as to David's Son (xii. 35–7; cf. Romans i. 3 *f.*, viii. 34); the words of Institution at the Supper (xiv. 22–5; cf. 1 Corinthians xi. 23 *ff.*).

Bacon does not argue for a direct literary dependence of Mark on the Pauline Epistles, but answers the question, 'Can we imagine a gospel such as Mark taking form in a community ignorant of the teaching of Paul?', with a 'decided No'. By very many scholars the hypothesis of Pauline influence is rejected,[1] and by no one more trenchantly than M. Werner, who in a recent study of the whole question (*Der Einfluss paulinischer Theologie im Markusevangelium*, 1923) has argued that such agreement as exists is due to primitive Christian ideas, and that characteristic Pauline conceptions are either wanting or opposed in Mark.

The Origin of Mark

The oldest statement we possess regarding the origin of Mark is the quotation from Papias (*c.* A.D. 130) given by Eusebius (*c.* A.D. 325) in his *Ecclesiastical History* (III, 39) which describes Mark as 'the interpreter of Peter'. This valuable statement has been very widely accepted as a true description of the origin of the Gospel, but in recent years, and especially in German research, the tendency has been rather to trust the inferences which may be drawn from the Gospel itself. In a famous book, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901), W. Wrede argued that the notes of reserve in Mark were examples of a theory

[1] Cf. J. Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 235 *f.*, *The Theology of the Gospels*, p. 23; A. E. J. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii–v; V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II, pp. 175 *f.*

regarding the Messianic Secret which the Evangelist imposed on the matter of his Gospel;[1] and the implications of this view—the want of real connexion in Mark's story—were remorsely pressed home by A. Schweitzer.[2] A like estimate of the Markan order is common to the exponents of Form-criticism, some of whom have been deeply influenced by Wrede. For M. Dibelius and R. Bultmann, Mark is a collector who strings together disconnected stories and sayings. M. Albertz[3] has also discussed in detail the origin of small collections of controversial stories which Mark incorporated in his Gospel, and a similar editorial activity is assumed by G. Bertram[4] in his account of the 'cult-stories' of which he believes the Gospel to consist. But the most important advocate of the new view is K. L. Schmidt, whose book, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, appeared in 1919. In the opinion of E. Fascher[5] Schmidt has completely 'shattered' the conception of a Synoptic framework, and this judgement is sound if the claim with which Schmidt ends his investigation is valid: 'The stories of Jesus lie for the most part on one and the same plane. Only now and then, from considerations about the inner character of a story, can we fix these somewhat more precisely in respect of time and place. But as a whole there is no Life of Jesus in the sense of an evolving biography, no chronological sketch of the Story of Jesus, but only single stories, sections, which are put into a framework.'[6] It is clear that this view, if accepted, makes the

[1] For a discussion of Wrede's position, see W. Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research* (1908), pp. 69*ff.*; V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, Part II (1909), pp. 195*ff.*; A. E. J. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 258 *ff.* Wrede's arguments have recently been commended by R. H. Lightfoot in his *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*, 16 *ff.*, 67, 89. See also *Jesus and His Sacrifice*, pp. 18–20.

[2] *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 331 *f.*

[3] Albertz examines Mark ii. 1–iii. 6; xi. 15–xii. 40, and shows that these sections are collections taken over, and slightly expanded by Mark. Cf. *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921), pp. 5–36.

[4] *Die Leidensgeschichte Jesu und der Christuskult* (1922).

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

writing of anything like a Life of Christ impossible.[1]

Schmidt's views have every appearance of a reaction which has been carried too far. He succeeds in showing that the Synoptic outline is much less firm than has been commonly supposed,[2] but it is probable that his results would have been less radical if his investigation had been limited more strictly to the Markan outline itself, and to this outline as a whole.[3] The more solid result of his work is the refutation of the cast-iron 'Markan Hypothesis', which can find no room for anything beyond the Markan outline, and least of all for events described in the Fourth Gospel.[4] He also shows the weakness of *Ur-Markus* theories which seek a more firmly compacted sketch embedded in the existing Gospel.[5] Most of all, he exposes the futility of all imaginative flights which treat the Papias tradition as if it meant that Mark recorded a biographical account furnished by Peter. It is probable that all the valid results of Schmidt's investigation, as well as the facts treated by Wrede and the *Formgeschichte* critics, find shelter within this tradition when it is interpreted soberly.

The Papias Tradition

As given by Eusebius[6] the words of Papias are as follows: 'This also the Presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately all that he

[1] The results of its adoption are visible in S. J. Case's *Jesus* (1927), which does not attempt to give a connected story and describes Mark as a 'literary mosaic' (p. 96).

[2] This point has recently been made independently by British scholars, e.g., Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 424, Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xix *ff.*

[3] However necessary it may be to consider Matthew and Luke as 'the oldest interpreters of Mark', it is dangerous to judge an original sketch by the use to which it has been put. Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Schmidt examines in detail the connecting-links between successive narratives and paragraphs, but not the arrangement as a whole, and the Passion narrative is treated as an already existing entity. See the important article of C. H. Dodd, 'The Framework of the Gospel Narrative', *The Expository Times*, xliii., pp. 396–400.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

[6] *H.E.*, III, 39.

remembered of the things done and said by Christ, but not however in order.

'For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him, but afterwards, as I said (attended) Peter, who adapted his teachings to the needs (of the moment), but not as though he were drawing up a connected account of the Lord's precepts.

'So then Mark made no mistake in thus recording some things just as he remembered them, for he made it his one care to omit nothing that he had heard and to make no false statement therein.'

The Presbyter is probably the Elder John of whom Papias speaks elsewhere, and it is possible that his words end with the first paragraph, the rest being the observations of Papias himself.

The Elder's words imply that Mark had been in close personal attendance on Peter and that in his Gospel he recorded what he remembered of Peter's preaching. The want of a correct order is expressly noted, and Papias points out the practical character of Peter's teaching, and the fact that Mark was neither a hearer nor a disciple of Jesus. The statement really amounts to an 'apology' for Mark, as against the claims of some other Gospel, whether Matthew[1] or John,[2] and its sobriety is all in favour of its acceptance. In the circumstances described, Mark would inevitably be in doubt from time to time as to the precise local or chronological connexion of one incident with another, but he would retain a lively recollection of the main lines of the story, and on occasion would remember detailed information as to time and place (cf. viii. 27, ix. 2, and the 'links' in the Passion story). The 'reserve' with which the Messiahship of Jesus is disclosed, and the injunctions to silence, are much more credibly explained as elements in a reliable tradition than as a theory forced on

[1] So B. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[2] So Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Cf. J. Moffatt's *Introduction*, p. 187.

inchoate material, and only if we violently divorce Pauline teaching from the mind of Jesus regarding His death, can we rule out as unhistorical the Markan teaching about the approaching Passion. The Papias Tradition may be said to hold the field: we should require to postulate something like it if we had not the citation of Eusebius, while to explain it as the product of second-century critical acumen would be a violent anachronism. As regards the more immediate circumstances in which the Gospel first appeared, we are limited to inferences from its contents and from its traditional association with Rome. Most recent interpreters see in it the Gospel for a persecuted Church called to a great missionary task, furnished with information as to the origins of the faith, with weapons for its defence and means for its world-wide dissemination.[1]

[1] Cf. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi *f.*; Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 495 *ff.*

VIII

THE SOURCES PECULIAR TO LUKE AND MATTHEW

We have already treated the Jerusalem source M used by Matthew and the Caesarean source L used by Luke, and it now remains to consider other sources employed by these evangelists. Besides L Luke used a source containing Birth and Infancy Stories, and besides M Matthew has drawn upon a cycle of narratives peculiar to his Gospel, and perhaps a Testimony Book containing Old Testament prophecies illustrated in the life of Jesus.

The Lukan Birth Stories

These stories include the following: the Promise of a Son to Zacharias and Elisabeth (i. 5–25), the Annunciation (i. 26–38), the Visit of Mary to Elisabeth (i. 39–56), the Birth of John (i. 57–80), the Birth of Jesus (ii. 1–7), the Visit of the Shepherds (ii. 8–20), the Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple (ii. 21–40), the Visit of the Boy Jesus to the Temple (ii. 41–52). The unity of these stories in respect of atmosphere and treatment, and the marked change from the style of the Preface (i. 1–4) and even from that of iii. 1 *ff.*, stamp i. 5–ii. 52 as a section derived from a special source. The nature of this source is a more difficult question. Harnack is of the opinion that it is not Greek in origin since the agreement of the style with that of Luke himself is too close, and he regards the hypothesis of an Aramaic source as not probable.[1] C. C. Torrey argues that i. 5–ii. 52 must have been translated from Hebrew,[2] and the hypothesis of a Hebrew original has been widely accepted so far at least as the great

[1] Cf. *Luke the Physician*, p. 215.

[2] Cf. *The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels*, pp. 290 *ff.* Cf. A. H. McNeile, *op. cit.*, pp. 40. 69.

'hymns', the Magnificat, the Benedictus, and the Nunc Dimittis, are concerned.[1] On these points there is obviously room for wide differences of opinion, and it may well be that, apart from the 'hymns', no other hypothesis is needed than that of the free composition of Luke, who consciously threw Jewish-Christian oral tradition into the Biblical style of the Septuagint version.[2]

The implications of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis have some bearing on the question of the origin of i. 5–ii. 52, for it seems clear (cf. iii. 1 *ff.*) that this material was not at Luke's disposal when he first wrote Proto-Luke, or at least that he had not then decided to make use of it. The presumption is that he composed the Birth Stories at some time subsequent to his visit to Caesarea. The literary character of the section itself supports this view. While its contents bespeak tradition which reflects the witness of women (cf. i. 39, 56, ii. 19, 51), they show that Luke has followed Old Testament models and has displayed his artistic and imaginative genius as nowhere else in his writings.[3] Whether the Birth Stories as Luke first planned them contained the Virgin Birth tradition, is a question still hotly disputed, many scholars holding that the passage i. 34*f.* is a subsequent addition to the Gospel.[4] The statement regarding the manner of the enrolment in ii. 3 has often been questioned. A. Deissmann has contended that it is proved to be 'no figment of St. Luke or his authority' by an edict of G. Vibius Maximus, governor of

[1] Cf. G. H. Box, *The Virgin Birth of Jesus*, p. 45; C. A. Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*; Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 266 *ff.*

[2] Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 18; W. F. Howard, Moulton's *Grammar*, ii, pp. 482 *f.*

[3] According to W. M. Ramsay, the story has been 're-thought out of the Hebraic into the Greek fashion'. The divine messenger becomes 'the winged personal being who, like Iris or Hermes, communicates the will and purpose of God', *Luke the Physician*, p. 13.

[4] In *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth* I have argued that the addition is that of Luke himself to a source which described the birth of the long-expected Messiah. Cf. pp. 48–104. E. Worcester prefers the view that the words, 'seeing I know not a man' (Luke i. 34b), are an interpolation. Cf. *Studies in the Birth of the Lord*, pp. 127 *f.*

Egypt, from the year A.D. 104, which shows that similar things took place in that age in adjacent lands under Roman rule.[1] If from the study of details, we turn to the Lukan Birth Stories as a whole, it is impossible not to be struck with their high moral and spiritual elevation, their freedom from mythological colouring, and their primitive Jewish-Christian theology and spirit.

The Narratives Peculiar to Matthew

The Matthaean Birth Stories have often been ascribed to a special source; but a new turn to the discussion has been given by Canon Streeter who points out that in style and character these stories resemble others which are peculiar to Matthew, and argues that they are all part of the floating tradition of the Church for which this Gospel was written.[2] These narratives include the following:

(1) The Nativity Stories: the Genealogy (i. 1–17), the Birth of Jesus (i. 18–25), the Visit of the Wise Men (ii. 1–12), the Flight to Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents (ii. 13–8), the Return to Nazareth (ii. 19–23);

(2) John's Hesitation at the Baptism (iii. 14 *f.*), Peter Walking on the Water (xiv. 28–31), the Coin in the Fish's Mouth (xvii. 24–7);

(3) Stories connected with the Passion and Resurrection: Judas and the Thirty Pieces of Silver (xxvi. 14–16), the Fate of Judas (xxvii. 3–10), Pilate's Wife's Dream (xxvii. 19), Pilate Washing his Hands (xxvii. 24 *f.*), the Earthquake and the Resurrection of the Saints (xxvii. 51b–3), the Watch at the Tomb (xxvii. 62–6), the Angel

[1] *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 270 *f.* The edict reads: 'Gaius Vibius Maximus, Praefect of Egypt, saith: The enrolment by household being at hand, it is necessary to notify all who for any cause soever are outside their nomes to return to their domestic hearths, that they may also accomplish the customary dispensation of enrolment and continue steadfastly in the husbandry that belongeth to them.'

[2] 'For the first two chapters of Matthew I see no reason to postulate a written source. For them, as for the *narrative* additions of the First Gospel, the local tradition of the Church—probably Antioch—where that Gospel was written seems an adequate source,' Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 266; cf. pp. 502 *f.*

of the Lord who rolls away the Stone (xxviii. 2–4), the Bribing of the Guard (xxviii. 11–15).

That these stories represent a distinct cycle is suggested by common stylistic features (e.g. the phrase κατ' ὄναρ, 'in a dream', occurs six times[1] and nowhere else in the New Testament), by the frequent references to angels and to prophecy, by the enhancement of the miraculous element, and by the efforts to explain and to justify the primitive Christian tradition. Some of the narratives (e.g. Peter on the Water, the Earthquake, the Angel and the Stone) approach, but do not cross, the boundary between the Canonical and the Apocryphal Gospels. The endeavour to explain elements in the tradition is manifest in the Genealogy which traces the *legal* descent of Jesus;[2] in the account of John's Hesitation which reveals difficulties felt regarding the Baptism of Jesus; in the story of the Coin which justifies the continued payment of the Temple tax; and in the narratives of the Guard which answer contemporary objections to the Resurrection. The influence of prophecy in the shaping of early tradition is illustrated in the Nativity stories, which suggest resemblances between the experiences of the Holy Family and those of Israel,[3] and in the accounts of the treachery and frightful end of Judas. A study of these narratives not only reveals a common cycle, but also the difference between this cycle and others used in the Gospels, and shows that it is the least valuable of them all.

The discussion of this Matthaean cycle furnishes a good illustration of the value of New Testament criticism. We miss the point if we think that it merely depreciates these narratives. On the contrary, its value is that it discriminates between this stratum and others, thereby throwing

[1] Matthew i. 20, ii. 12, 13, 19, 22, xxvii. 19.

[2] Cf. *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth*, pp. 95 *ff.*, and for the textual problem of i. 16, cf. pp. 105–14; W. C. Allen, *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, *St. Matthew*, pp. 6 *ff.*

[3] Cf. G. H. Box, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 *ff.*; W. C. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

into relief the superior value of the Markan and Lukan tradition. It delivers us from the paralysing fear that to challenge a single narrative or group of narratives is to undermine the historical value of the Gospels as a whole. It is not without significance that it is just the stories peculiar to Matthew which more than all others have furnished the sceptic with some of his sharpest weapons;[1] and the only way to meet his onset is not by general observations about the credibility of the Gospels, but by a sane and discriminating criticism. Such criticism traces the natural influence upon historical tradition exerted by early Christian reflection and defence.

The Book of Testimonies

The Old Testament passages cited in Matthew are of special interest. Very many of them are clearly derived from the Greek version known as the Septuagint, but there is an interesting group of twelve passages (i. 22 *f.*, ii. 5 *f.*, ii. 15, ii. 17 *f.*, ii. 23, iii. 3, iv. 14 *ff.*, viii. 17, xii. 17–21, xiii. 35, xxi. 4 *f.*, xxvii. 9) all of which, with the exception of ii. 23[2] and iii. 3, appear to be based to a greater or less degree on the Hebrew text. In each case they are preceded by the words, 'in order that that which was spoken by the prophets might be fulfilled', or words to that effect, and with a single exception (iii. 3) they are peculiar to Matthew's Gospel.[3] The suggestion is tempting that these passages, and perhaps others, were taken by the Evangelist from an existing collection of Old Testament prophecies compiled by someone interested in the element of 'fulfilment' in the life of Jesus. Collections of this kind undoubtedly existed in the third century, and

[1] Cf. D. F. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus* (Translated from the 4th German edition by Geo. Eliot), pp. 501 *f.*, 691 *ff.*, 705 *ff.*

[2] Matthew ii. 23 cannot be identified with any single Old Testament passage.

[3] Cf. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. lxii; Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*. II, pp. 342–6.

they would certainly have been of the greatest value in first-century controversies with Jewish opponents. Some years ago F. C. Burkitt suggested that such a collection was actually made by the Apostle Matthew, and that this is what Papias meant when he wrote: 'Matthew wrote the Logia in Hebrew, and each man interpreted them as he was able.'[1] This suggestion is supported by the fact that xxvii. 9 *f.* which the Evangelist attributes to Jeremiah, is really based on Zechariah xi. 13, an error which might be due to the arrangement of the Testimony Book in which the section began with a quotation from Jeremiah.[2] It is further supported by the fact that the Evangelist's normal procedure is to use the Septuagint version. Several scholars have accepted this hypothesis of a Matthaean Book of Testimonies,[3] but it requires to be worked out more fully, and to be discussed in its relation to some of the narratives treated in the previous section and to the sayings-source M. In any case, the Old Testament passages in Matthew show how eagerly the early Christians read the Old Testament, and, violent as their exegesis might sometimes be, boldly claimed it for themselves.

[1] Cf. *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 127. At least three interpretations of these words are current: by many they are applied to Q, by others to the Testimony Book, and by others again to the Gospel of Matthew itself.

[2] Cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 *f.*

[3] The hypothesis was independently put forward by J. Rendel Harris in his *Testimonies*, I (1916), and is accepted by J. A. Findlay, cf. *Jesus as they saw Him*, pp. 221 *ff.*, *Jesus in the First Gospel*; T. H. Robinson, *The Moffatt N. T. Comm. on Matthew*, pp. xiv.–xvii, and others. A. H. McNeile, *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, thinks that the quotations may have been taken from an Aramaic collection of *testimonia*; cf. p. 66.

IX

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

THE various sources used in Matthew and Luke have been considered, and it now remains for us to describe the characteristic features of each of these Gospels and their importance as witnesses of 'the second generation'.

The Characteristics of Luke

(1) One of the chief characteristics of Luke is its note of *universalism*. 'Goodwill to men', is the message of the angelic host (ii. 14),[1] and in the Infant Jesus Simeon sees 'a light for revelation to the Gentiles' (ii. 32). The citation from Isaiah xl. 3 *ff.*, found in all the Synoptists with reference to the Baptist, is carried in Luke as far as the words, 'And all flesh shall see the salvation of God' (iii. 6). The Sermon at Nazareth, with which Luke begins his account of the Galilean ministry, opens with the quotation from Isaiah lxi. 1 *f.*, which speaks of 'the acceptable year of the Lord', and finds its illustrations in the widow of Zarephath in Sidon, and in Naaman the Syrian. To the saying about those who come from the east and west, and sit down in the kingdom of God, Luke adds, 'the north and south' (xiii. 29). In the parable of the Great Supper the servant is bidden to go into the streets and lanes that he may bring in the poor and maimed and blind and lame. Even then 'there is room' and, as in Matthew (xxii. 9), he is sent into the highways. Luke adds the 'hedges', and the charge continues, 'Constrain them to come in, that my house may be filled' (xiv. 23). In the account of the appearance to the disciples at Jerusalem, the Risen Lord shows that it is written that the Christ should suffer and rise again and

[1] Both nominative and genitive ('of goodwill') are read by important MSS. The R.V. favours the latter. The former is defended by B. S. Easton in *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (1926), p. 24.

that repentance and forgiveness should be preached in His name 'unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem' (xxiv. 47). It is not surprising that Irenaeus should have described this Gospel as a record of the Gospel preached by St. Paul. There is, however, no Paulinism in Luke.[1] The universalism is that of Jesus Himself, and, though most apparent in Luke, is present in all the Gospels.

(2) A strong interest in *social relationships*, especially as they concern wealth and poverty, is a further characteristic of Luke. The Beatitudes appear in the form 'Blessed are ye poor', 'Blessed are ye that hunger now' (vi. 20 *f.*), and are accompanied by corresponding Woes on the rich, the full, and the happy. The publicans are warned by the Baptist against extortion, and the soldiers against violence and discontent with their pay (iii. 13 *f.*). Jesus declines to judge between men in respect of property and warns them against covetousness (xii. 13 *ff.*). He describes the Pharisees as 'lovers of money' (xvi. 14), and speaks of wealth as 'the mammon of unrighteousness' (xvi. 9). In many of His parables the illustrations are taken from finance, as in the Two Debtors, the Rich Fool, the Tower Builder, the Lost Coin, the Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Pounds. Several sayings regarding almsgiving are also peculiar to Luke: 'Give for alms those things which are within' (xi. 41); 'Sell that ye have, and give alms' (xii. 33).[2]

(3) Closely connected with the foregoing is the gracious attitude of the Lukan Jesus to the *outcast*, the *sinner*, and the *Samaritan*. It is Luke who tells us of the woman in the city who was a sinner (vii. 36 *ff.*), of Zacchaeus (xix. 1 *ff.*), and the penitent thief (xxiii. 39 *ff.*), and whose parables tell of the prodigal son (xv. 11 *ff.*), and the publican who

[1] Cf. A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, pp. 142 *f.*; H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (1927), pp. 274 *ff.*

[2] Cf. also vi. 34, 38. H. J. Cadbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 *ff.*, has noted Luke's interest in matters of lodging (ii. 7, ix. 12, xxi. 37) and entertainment (vii. 36 *ff.*, x. 38 *ff.*, xiii. 26, xiv. 7 *ff.*, xvi. 4, 21, xxii. 30, xxiv. 29 *ff.*, 41).

cried, 'God, be merciful to me a sinner' (xviii. 13). 'He has a boundless—indeed, a paradoxical—love for sinners, together with the most confident hope of their forgiveness and amendment.'[1] It is Luke also who describes the forbearing attitude of Jesus to the inhospitable Samaritan village (ix. 52 *ff.*), who tells of the one grateful leper who was a Samaritan (xvii. 15 *f.*), and who records the immortal parable of the Good Samaritan (x. 30 *ff.*).

(4) Luke's references to *women* are also universally noted as one of his characteristic features. It is in this Gospel alone that we read of the widow of Nain (vii. 11 *ff.*), the woman in the city (vii. 36 *ff.*), Joanna and Susanna (viii. 3), of Martha,[2] who was 'distracted about much serving' (x. 38 *ff.*), of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (xiii. 10 *ff.*), of the women who lamented Jesus on His way to the Cross (xxiii. 27 *ff.*), and of the parables of the Woman and the Lost Coin (xv. 8 *ff.*) and the Widow and the Unjust Judge (xviii. 1 *ff.*). Besides these stories, all of which are found in Proto-Luke, there are in the Birth Stories the narratives of Mary, Elisabeth, and Anna.

(5) Side by side with the graciousness of Jesus, there is in His teaching, as Luke gives it, a note of *sternness*, not to say severity. Jesus is no teacher who makes the way easy. He challenges men and bids them count the cost. The Matthaean saying, 'He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me . . .' (x. 37), appears in Luke in the form, 'If any man cometh unto me and hateth not his own father and mother . . . he cannot be my disciple' (xiv. 26). The parables of the Tower Builder and the Rash King are followed by the words, 'So therefore whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple' (xiv. 33). A man 'must give and hazard all he hath', else he is but savourless salt, fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill

[1] A. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 140. [2] Cf. John xi.

(xiv. 34 *f.*). Perhaps the most striking instance of all is the parable of the Farmer and his Man: 'Doth he thank the servant because he did the things that were commanded? Even so ye also, when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do' (xvii. 9 *f.*).

(6) Equally with Mark, Luke is characterized by its interest in *the Passion*. This is also noticeable in Proto-Luke. Early in the story Jesus steadfastly sets His face to go to Jerusalem (ix. 51). He has 'a baptism to be baptized with', and is 'straitened till it be accomplished' (xii. 50). To those who warn Him of Herod, His reply is, 'Behold, I cast out devils and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected . . .' (xiii. 32 *f.*). He sees His approaching death in the light of the Second Isaiah's portrait of the Suffering Servant: 'For I say unto you, that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was reckoned with transgressors: for that which concerneth me hath an end'[1] (xxii. 37, cf. Isaiah liii. 12).

(7) Among other Lukan features may be mentioned the references to *joy*, *prayer*, and the *Holy Spirit*. Almost at the beginning of the Gospel stands the message, 'I bring you good tidings of great joy' (ii. 10), and at the end we see the disciples blessing God in the Temple (xxiv. 53). The references to the prayers of Jesus are especially noteworthy. After healing the leper He withdraws into the desert and prays (v. 16); before choosing the Twelve He spends the whole night in prayer to God (vi. 12); it is while He is praying 'in a certain place', that the disciples ask for instruction in prayer (xi. 1). He prays for Peter (xxii. 32), for Himself (xxii. 41) and for his murderers (xxiii. 34).[2]

[1] Or, 'For my life and work are at an end'. Cf. H. B. Swete, *Studies in the Teaching of our Lord*, p. 111.

[2] See Streeter's discussion of the textual question, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 74, 89, 123.

Just as characteristic are the references to the Holy Spirit. 'Full of the Holy Spirit', Jesus returns from the Jordan, and is 'led by the Spirit' in the wilderness (iv. 1). 'In the power of the Spirit', He returns to Galilee and begins His public ministry (iv. 14). 'In the Holy Spirit' He rejoices, and reveals the secret of His filial consciousness (x. 21 *ff.*).[1] Upon His disciples He sends forth the promise of His Father, bidding them tarry in the city until they be 'clothed with power from on high' (xxiv. 49).

Authorship and Date of Luke

The view that the Third Evangelist is 'Luke the physician' (Colossians iv. 14; Philemon 24; 2 Timothy iv. 11) is very widely held in Great Britain, but is rejected by many German and French scholars.[2] The main issues are (1) whether the 'We-sections'[3] in the Acts are written by the author of the entire work, and (2) whether the author can have been a companion of Paul having a personal knowledge of the Pauline Churches and of the problems of primitive Christianity. As for the former question, the affirmative answer is in every way the best, both on linguistic grounds[4] and on those of general probability. It

[1] Along with A. E. J. Rawlinson's Excursus on 'The "Filial Consciousness" of Jesus' in *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, pp. 251 *ff.*, B. S. Easton's note on Luke x. 22 should be read. Cf. *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, pp. 164 *ff.*

[2] For the negative view, see the chapter by H. Windisch in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, II, pp. 298 *ff.*, which I have discussed in an article on 'The Lukan Authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts' in the *Expositor* (October, 1925), IX, 10, pp. 282–91.

[3] That is, the sections in the Acts which are written in the first person plural (xvi. 10–17, xx. 5–15, xxi. 1–18, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16).

[4] Cf. A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, pp. 26 *ff.* Since the publication of H. J. Cadbury's *Style and Literary Method of Luke* (1919), little stress has been laid on the so-called 'medical argument'. Cf. B. S. Easton, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv. But see also J. Moffatt, *Expositor*, VIII, xxiv. pp. 1–18. Long ago V. H. Stanton declined to attach too much importance to this argument, although he was a strong supporter of the Lukan authorship. Cf. *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II (1909), pp. 261 *ff.* W. F. Howard thinks that without falling into the unwise exaggeration of the evidence common a few years ago, 'we may still say that this test rather favours than discounts the ancient tradition that (the author) was Luke, "the beloved physician" (Colossians iv. 14)'; cf. the vol. on the Acts, 1929, in *The Study Bible*, p. 128.

is not likely that a skilled writer would have left the pronoun 'we' standing if he had been using a source: the presumption is that he is drawing extracts from his own diary. The second question depends on the kind of knowledge and treatment we expect from a companion of Paul. It is true that Luke takes a view of the controversy regarding Gentile freedom which in many respects is different from that of the Apostle;[1] but we have to remember Paul's strong individuality and many-sided character[2], and the fact that Luke writes at a time when the controversy had ended happily. The view that Luke is the author of the Acts carries with it the same conclusion as regards the Gospel, for no one questions the common authorship of these writings. The *date* of the Gospel depends on the fact that Luke has used Mark, on the probability that the Fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) is implied in the form of Luke xxi. 20,[3] and upon the belief that no great interval can separate the publication of Matthew and Luke. The proposal of Harnack[4] to date the Gospel during Paul's lifetime is generally thought to have failed. On the other hand, the evidence for the view that Luke had read the *Antiquities* of Josephus (A.D. 93) is far from being conclusive,[5] and on the whole there is most to be said for the period A.D. 80–5.

[1] Cf. Acts xv. and Galatians ii. In the Decree of Acts xv. 28 *f.*, the main point is the proclamation of Gentile freedom. 'The specially-mentioned exceptions have come to be thought both more important and more severe than they originally were,' C. H. Watkins, *St. Paul's Fight for Galatia*, p. 209. Some scholars think that Acts xv. records a later decision, and that Luke's parallel to the visit of Galatians ii. is the 'Famine visit' of Acts xi. Cf. C. W. Emmet, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, II, 265 *ff.*

[2] With Galatians ii, 1 Corinthians ix. 20 *ff.* should be compared.

[3] 'But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is at hand.' Cf. the parallel passage in Mark xiii. 14: 'But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not . . .'

[4] *The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (1911).

[5] Cf. *The Beginnings of Christianity*, II, pp. 355 *ff.* The utmost Streeter will allow is that Luke might have heard Josephus lecture at Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 557 *f.* Cf. A. H. McNeile, *op. cit.*, p. 35, and for the view favourable to dependence on Josephus see F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 105–10.

The Value of Luke

The characteristics of the Gospel, as described above, reveal its supreme value. How greatly our knowledge of the teaching of Jesus would be lacking if we did not possess this Gospel! It is true that Luke writes with a conscious literary interest: the dignity of the Preface, the art manifest in the Birth Stories and in many of the parables and narratives peculiar to the Gospel, and the manner in which he develops his story, so that we read in succession of Nazareth, Capernaum, Galilee, Samaria, and Jerusalem, are proof of this.[1] In these respects, Luke is far removed from Mark, who for the most part leaves his material in the form in which he finds it. But Luke does not write at the expense of veracity, unless we judge his work by rigid standards which are out of place in this connexion. In spite of his art, he preserves the individuality of his sources, even retaining grammatical forms which must have offended his sense of style.[2] Too much, moreover, may be made of his so-called 'dramatizing tendency'. There is no lack of colour in the sayings and parables of Jesus as recorded elsewhere, and if Luke's picturesque parables, with their broad human interests, are peculiar to his Gospel, this is probably because they appealed most to the Caesarean community and to himself, and for that reason were treasured and told. His Christology remains primitive:[3] Christ, the Divine Son, who in filial love accepts a destiny which issues in suffering and death—this is the sum and substance of Lukan teaching, though gleams of richer thoughts appear in passages where Jesus assigns dominion to His disciples (xxii. 29), and announces His gift of the Spirit (xxiv. 49).

[1] 'The Prologue proves that the author possesses the usual literary culture of the Hellenistic-Roman time and claims for his work a place in literature.' Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I, p. 8. Meyer holds that Luke's statement about Lysanias is 'entirely correct', *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[2] Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, II, pp. 10, 20; J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 28.

[3] Cf. *Behind the Third Gospel*, pp. 265*ff.*

But it is the pathos and tenderness of the Third Evangelist which will always make the deepest impression, the fact that in Dante's phrase[1] he writes as 'a scribe of the gentleness of Christ', with a boundless hope for sinful men and women, and an unbroken confidence in the love of God.

[1] Cited by A. Plummer, *Internat. Crit. Comm., St. Luke*, p. xlii.

X

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

THE topics which have been treated in connexion with Luke must now be considered in respect of Matthew.

The Characteristics of Matthew

Many of the features we have noted as characteristic of Mark and Luke are present in a less manifest degree in Matthew also. Among the special features which distinguish Matthew from the other Synoptists are his love of orderly arrangement[1] and his interest in the relation of Christianity to the Old Testament, in the apocalyptic sayings of Jesus, and in sayings of an ecclesiastical type.

(1) Matthew's *love of orderly arrangement* is seen in his treatment of his sources. Mark's chronological and topographical statements are often omitted, and in Matthew iii—xii his order is drastically altered in the interests of a better topical arrangement.[2] The material from Q and M is fused and, together with sayings from Mark, is arranged in five main sections: the Sermon on the Mount (v–vii); the Mission Charge (x); the Parables of the Kingdom (xiii); sayings on Greatness and Forgiveness (xviii); and the Last Things (xxiv–xxv). There is also a tendency to arrange the material in groups of three, five, and seven.[3] Matthew's literary style has features which bear on this question. G. Milligan describes it as 'more prosaic and colourless' than that of Mark, but 'more

[1] Matthew's arrangement is much more topical than that of Mark.

[2] See also the footnote on p. 46. The message to the Baptist (xi. 2 *ff.*) is held back until a great deal has been told of the healing ministry, including the story of the raising of Jaīrus's daughter (ix. 18 *ff.*).

[3] Cf. W. C. Allen, *Internat. Crit. Comm., St. Matthew*, p. lxv.

calm and balanced'.[1] 'Everything that he says', writes F. C. Burkitt, 'is put with admirable clearness and lucidity; what he writes down he has first understood himself.'[2] In the story of the Gerasene demoniac he uses two words for every five of Mark's; in the story of Jaïrus's daughter one for every three; and in the account of the feeding of the five thousand two for every three. The story of the blessing of the children is a characteristic example:

'Then were there brought unto him little children, that he should lay his hands on them, and pray: and the disciples rebuked them. But Jesus said, Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven. And he laid his hands on them, and departed thence' (xix. 13–15).

We notice at once the absence of Mark's phrase: 'And he took them in his arms, and blessed them' (x. 16), and the substitution of 'that he should lay his hands on them, and pray' for 'that he should touch them'; but how concisely and perfectly the story is told!

(2) A very notable characteristic of Matthew is his view of *the Christian Message as the consummation of Old Testament religion.* This interest is shown by his preoccupation with the ideas of Messiahship and the Kingdom, his description of Jesus as 'the son of David',[3] and his evident pleasure in narrating the story of the Triumphal Entry (xxi. 1–11). The Old Testament is freely cited, and sometimes very happily, as in xii. 18 *ff.* (cf. Isaiah xlii. 1–4):

> Behold, my servant whom I have chosen;
> My beloved in whom my soul is well pleased:
> I will put my Spirit upon him,
> And he shall declare judgement to the Gentiles.

[1] *The New Testament Documents, their Origin and Early History*, p. 148. Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, II, p. 29.

[2] *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 186.

[3] Eight times in Matthew, twice each in Mark and Luke, and never in John.

He shall not strive, nor cry aloud;
Neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets.
A bruised reed shall he not break,
And smoking flax shall he not quench,
Till he send forth judgement unto victory.
And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.'

One may dislike the phrase 'that it might be fulfilled', but its deeper suggestion is that Christianity is not an accident, but a consummation. It is remarkable that sayings reflecting a narrow type of Jewish-Christian piety stand side by side with sayings which strike a universal note. On the one hand, no jot or tittle of the Law is to pass away, and he who breaks the least commandment, and teaches men so, is least in the kingdom (v. 18*f.*); the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat (xxiii. 2*f.*); and Jesus is not sent, but unto 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (xv. 24; cf. x. 5*f.*). On the other hand, the most violent attack is directed against the Pharisees (xxiii.); it is foretold that 'the sons of the kingdom' will be cast into outer darkness (viii. 12); 'this gospel of the kingdom' is to be preached 'in the whole world' (xxiv. 14); and disciples are to be made 'of all the nations' (xxviii. 19). The explanation lies partly in the fidelity with which Matthew has preserved his sources, but still more in his conception of the Church as the New Israel for which the Law is reinterpreted (v. 21 *ff.*), and its promises assured. Nothing is more characteristic of Matthew than his addition to the parable of the Vineyard: 'The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof' (xxi. 43).[1]

(3) Matthew's *apocalyptic interests* are seen in his attitude to the Last Things and the Return of Christ. These

[1] 'Jesus the true Messiah, born and trained under the Jewish law, and yet Lord of a Church whose inward faith, organization, procedure, and world-wide scope transcended the legal limitations of Judaism—this is the dominant conception of Matthew's Gospel from beginning to end,' J. Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 244.

interests are evident in some of the parables peculiar to Matthew: the Ten Virgins, which ends with the warning: 'Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour' (xxv. 13); the Talents, where the unprofitable servant is consigned to outer darkness and to 'weeping and gnashing of teeth' (xxv. 30); the Sheep and the Goats, which portrays the Son of man 'in his glory, and all the angels with him', and the separation to the right hand and to the left (xxv. 31 *ff.*).[1] The same features are manifest in the additions which Matthew has made to the Apocalyptic Discourse of Mark xiii. To the saying about the world-wide preaching of the Gospel of the kingdom he adds: 'and then shall the end come' (xxiv. 14). After the reference to the shaking of the powers of the heavens, he adds: 'and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn' (xxiv. 30). The angels are sent forth 'with a great sound of a trumpet' (xxiv. 31), and the time for which men are to watch is the 'day your Lord cometh' (xxiv. 42). Canon Streeter has made the interesting suggestion that there was a revival of interest in this strain of teaching at Antioch about the year A.D. 85, due to the current expectation of the return of the dead Nero at the head of the Parthian hosts,[2] and this suggestion certainly gives a good explanation for the emphasis it receives in what is relatively a late Gospel. As for the apocalyptic teaching itself, we can neither explain it away[3] nor make it central and determinative.[4] Probable as it is that Matthew has given it undue prominence, it is certain that Jesus did speak of Anti-Christ and of His own speedy return. Only so can we account for the tense primitive expectation, manifest in the Gospels, the

[1] Cf. also the parables of the Tares (xiii. 24 *ff.*) and the Drag Net (xiii. 47 *ff.*).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 523; cf. R. H. Charles, *Internat. Crit. Comm.*, *Revelation*, II, 76 *ff.*

[3] Cf. C. W. Emmet, *The Lord of Thought*, pp. 227–96.

[4] Cf. A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 329 *ff.*

Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse.[1] We shall probably need to think of Jesus as One who did not hesitate to express—in forms consecrated by Old Testament tradition—tumultuous thoughts about the breaking of God's power into the world order, and that He did so with a fine disregard for formal consistency.

(4) The *ecclesiastical interests* of Matthew appear in certain passages which are peculiar to his Gospel.

'And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (xvi. 18*f.*).

'And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (xviii. 17*f.*).

'Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' (xxvii. 19).

'For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them' (xviii. 20).

'And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (xxviii. 20).

Vital interests are involved in these passages, and very different opinions have been held as to their genuineness. It is quite likely that they reach us in forms coloured by Christian experience and practice; it would be strange indeed if this were not the case. The saying on Baptism

[1] Cf. Mark ix. 1, Luke xvii. 22 *ff.*, xxi. 25 *ff.*, Acts i. 11, 1 Thessalonians iv. 13 *ff.*, Apocalypse xxii. 20, etc. R. Bultmann has recently put forward a strong argument in favour of the view that Jesus is both the Rabbi and the eschatological preacher. Cf. *Jesus*, pp. 111 *ff.*

into the Threefold Name[1] is couched in the language of a later time, and it may be, as Canon Streeter suggests, that the saying about Peter has been influenced by controversy with those who exalted other leaders in the primitive community.[2] On the other hand, no good reason can be given why Jesus should not have spoken of the primitive community of His followers as His 'church', of their power to 'bind' and 'loose', and of His abiding presence with them.[3] In other words, the 'modifications' do not go deep, or prevent us from using these passages as an expression of the mind of Jesus. Two considerations strengthen this opinion. The sayings in question are few: how easy it would have been to multiply them in this relatively late Gospel! Moreover, it is not merely a matter of the preservation of isolated sayings: the passages under discussion are in line with that conception of the Church as the New Israel which we have noted elsewhere in the outlook of the Evangelist, the ground for which he finds in the teaching of Jesus.

Authorship and Date of Matthew

Although early tradition ascribes the First Gospel to the Apostle Matthew, this view is now almost universally abandoned. It is improbable in the extreme that an Apostle would have used as a source the work of one who was not an eyewitness of the ministry of Jesus.[4] Moreover, the narrative traditions peculiar to the First Gospel do not suggest the reminiscences of an Apostle. The name

[1] Eusebius quotes the passage in the form, 'Make disciples of all nations in my name', but there is no good reason to think that this is the original text. Cf. W. C. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 307. For the opposite view see F. C. Conybeare, *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1902, and Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I (1924), p. 15.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

[3] 'In a Gentile community tradition would surely have modified the form of the injunction "If he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican".' (*ibid*). See the important discussion of Matthew xvi. 17–19 by R. N. Flew, *Jesus and His Church*, pp. 123–36.

[4] Matthew is practically a revised edition of Mark with material inserted from other sources.

'Matthew' probably came to be associated with this Gospel because it embodies a source written by that Apostle, either Q or the Book of Testimonies. The author remains unknown,[1] but this is of less importance inasmuch as he probably writes in the name of some important Church, either Jerusalem or Antioch. Unknown as he is, his personality is reflected by his style and dominant interests. Unconsciously he describes himself when he likens every scribe of the kingdom to a householder who brings out of his treasure 'things new and old' (xiii. 52). The *date* of the Gospel is determined by (1) its use of Mark (A.D. 65–70), (2) by passages like xi. 12, xxvii. 8, xxviii. 15, which give the impression of distance,[2] and (3) by its ecclesiastical interests and the explanatory character of its special tradition. On these grounds it is usual to date Matthew within the period A.D. 80–100.[3] There is most to be said for the period A.D. 85–90.

The Value of Matthew

The value of Matthew is beyond question. Inferior to Mark as an historical source, it is invaluable as a repository of the teaching of Jesus, while its topical arrangement, both of incidents and sayings, has made possible a clear and living presentation of Jesus and His message, with the result that early in the second century it became, and long remained, the favourite Gospel. The portrait of Jesus is seen through the eyes of the second generation, but living touch with primitive tradition is maintained. We are given no mythical figure, no half-legendary hero. Even the great Christological passage, 'No one knoweth the Son,

[1] He is usually described as the First Evangelist or by the traditional name, Matthew.

[2] 'Until now' (xi. 12), 'unto this day' (xxvii. 8), 'until this day' (xxviii. 15).

[3] Cf. A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, p. xxviii. B. H. Streeter assigns it to the year A.D. 85, *op. cit.*, p. 524; while F. C. Burkitt places it within the decade A.D. 90–100, *op. cit.*, p. 263. Some scholars think that the destruction of Jerusalem is implied in xxii. 7: 'But the king was wroth; and he sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city.'

save the Father', is still far removed from later metaphysical statements. The Jesus who is revealed in Matthew is not only 'the Jesus of history', but One who is the climax of divine self-revelation, who comes 'not to destroy, but to fulfil', and stands before men as the destined King, Judge, and Saviour. The Figure thus presented is undoubtedly challenging both to thought and action, and it is not surprising that some scholars should attribute the portraiture to the beliefs of the primitive Christian community. On this question criticism cannot say the last word. But it is fair to ask whether reflection did not reach truth missed by first impressions, and recall pregnant sayings which fell at first on deaf or half-opened ears. That experience colours primitive tradition is a truism, but this process is not necessarily corruption; it may equally well be interpretation, and valid interpretation. And the self-consistency of the Matthaean portraiture, its strength and grandeur, its freedom from so many traits which a legendary growth could have supplied so easily, suggest that the portrait is taken from life.

In addition to its importance as a portraiture of Jesus, the first Gospel is invaluable for the light it throws on Jewish-Christianity which, strangely enough, has preserved sayings of Jesus capable of meeting the religious and spiritual needs of nineteen centuries of subsequent Christian history and experience.

XI

THE FOURTH GOSPEL: ITS STRUCTURE AND CHARACTER

In treating the problems of the Fourth Gospel the best method will be to study first its structure and character, and then to consider its purpose, authorship, and abiding value.

Date, Place of Origin, Original Language, and Relation to other Johannine Writings

It is now almost universally agreed that the Gospel was written at Ephesus[1] about the close of the first century.[2] That it was intended for Greek[3] readers is evident from the fact that Aramaic words are translated (i. 38, 42, ix. 7, xix. 13, 17, xx. 16), and Jewish customs explained (ii. 6, iv. 9, vi. 4, xix. 40, 42); but most of all from the character of the Gospel itself. Attempts to prove the existence of an Aramaic original have not succeeded, but they have proved the Semitic cast of the author's mind.[4]

[1] C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922), and W. Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium* (1925) have claimed Syria as the place of origin, but on inadequate grounds.

[2] Among recent writers, B. H. Streeter, A. H. McNeile, and J. H. Bernard agree on the period A.D. 90–95. W. Bauer's date is 100–25. The idea that v. 43 refers to Bar Cochba's rising is now a curiosity of criticism. For the view that the Fourth Gospel was not 'published' till *c.* A.D. 135, see p. 104. R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd ed., 1941), dates the Gospel A.D. 90–110.

[3] In *Das Johannesevangelium—eine Missionsschrift für Israel* (1928) K. Bornhäuser has argued that the Gospel was written as a missionary tract for non-Christian Israelites. His argument is very able and forcible, but dose not really prove more than the fundamentally Jewish character of the material. His repeated question: Who could understand this but Israelites?, leaves out of account the probability that much of the Evangelist's material had long been used for didactic purposes in the Ephesian community.

[4] Cf. W. F. Howard in J. H. Moulton's *Grammar*, ii, pp. 483*f*.

The Evangelist is almost certainly the writer of the Johannine Epistles, but not the author of the Apocalypse.[1] Some scholars, including H. J. Holtzmann, P. W. Schmiedel, J. Moffatt, and recently C. H. Dodd,[2] distinguish the Evangelist from the author of 1 John, while V. H. Stanton ascribes 1 John, but not 2 and 3 John, to the Evangelist. W. F. Howard thinks that the problem must not be regarded as a closed question,[3] but is of the opinion that the Gospel and the Epistles were written or dictated by the same venerable leader of the Church in proconsular Asia.[4]

The Original Order of the Gospel

Ancient writings were commonly written on sheets of papyrus material fastened together to make a roll, and occasionally it happened by accident or mischance that the correct order was not preserved. There is reason to think that the Fourth Gospel has suffered this fate. It is strange, for example, that after chapter v, where the scene is Jerusalem, we should read: 'After these things Jesus went away to the other side of the sea of Galilee (vi. 1), and even more remarkable that after vi, which describes the ministry in Galilee, the narrative should continue: 'And after these things Jesus walked in Galilee' (vii. 1). If we reverse chapters v and vi, the difficulties disappear. In the same way a better order is given to xiii–xvii, if xv–xvi are put at some point earlier than the words, 'Arise, let us go hence', in xiv. 31. J. H. Bernard

[1] Cf. R. H. Charles, *Internat. Crit. Comm., Revelation*, pp. xxix–xliii.

[2] See Professor Dodd's article, 'The First Epistle of John and the Fourth Gospel', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 21, No. 1, April, 1937, pp. 129–56. This article is discussed in my *Atonement in New Testament Teaching* (2nd ed.), pp. 131–5.

[3] *Christianity according to St. John*, p. 16.

[4] 'The Gospel represents his meditations and teaching over a number of years and was *published* after his death. The Epistles were written near the end of his life to those who were familiar with the teaching embodied in the Gospel', *op. cit.*, p. 18 *n.*

and others argue for the order: xiii. 1–30, xv, xvi, xiii. 31–8, xiv, xvii.[1]

The Appendix and the Question of Editorial Additions

It is almost certain that the Evangelist originally intended to close his Gospel with the words xx. 30 *f*:

'Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name.'

It by no means follows that the Appendix (xxi) is an editorial addition.[2] The argument from language and style is very strongly in favour of the view that the same hand penned i–xx. and xxi; and the Appendix is sufficiently explained by the Evangelist's desire to correct current rumours about a saying of Jesus regarding the Beloved Disciple's death (xxi. 23). Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to distinguish an original document of which the Gospel is an expansion.[3] If the Appendix is the work of the Evangelist, there is no good reason

[1] Cf. *Internat. Crit. Comm., St. John* (1928), pp. xvi.–xxx. Other cases of possible transposition are met by: the removal of vii. 15–24 to the end of v; the placing of iii. 31–6 after iii. 21; of x. 1–18 after x. 29; and of xii. 44–50 after the first part of xii. 36. Continuing the work of F. Spitta, F. W. Lewis has shown that, in many cases, transposed sections are multiples of a common unit 'corresponding to the amount of writing probably contained in a single papyrus leaf'. Cf. *Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel* (1910), pp. 14 *f*. Recent commentators, e.g. W. Temple, E. Hoskyns and F. N. Davey, and R. H. Strachan (apart from John vii. 15–24) are unfavourably inclined to the theory of 'dislocations'; but it remains doubtful if we can assume that the Fourth Gospel, as we have it, is in the form in which it left the Evangelist's hands.

[2] The view that xxi. is an editorial addition has been urged by many scholars. Cf. B. W. Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* (1918), pp. 184 *ff*.; V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, III (1920), pp. 17–32; R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd ed.), pp. 333–40. See the treatment of this question by W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, pp. 255–7.

[3] By J. Wellhausen, E. Schwartz, F. Spitta, H. H. Wendt, W. Soltau, Ed. Meyer, J. M. Thompson and others. Cf. V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 32 *ff*. R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd ed.), p. 81 *n*., has now abandoned this view.

to think that the Gospel has been extensively edited; and, apart from a few passages like iv. 1 *f.*, v. 4, vii. 53–viii. 11, xxi. 24, and perhaps xix. 35, it may be taken as a unity.[1]

The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics

In estimating the character of the Fourth Gospel, it is useful to compare it with the Synoptics. The *differences* are striking. (1) In John, apart from ii. 1–12, iv. 3–54, vi. 1–71, vii. 1–9, the ministry of Jesus is centred at Jerusalem. There are references to three Passovers (ii. 13, vi. 4, xii. 1) and to the Feasts of Tabernacles (vii. 2) and the Dedication (x. 22), whereas in the Synoptics we read only of the visit preceding the Passion. (2) Again, in John the public ministry covers at least two years, and perhaps three, while the Synoptic data would be met by a period of twelve months. (3) Jesus is recognized as the Messiah from the first; by John (i. 29 *ff.*), Andrew (i. 41) and Philip (i. 45). There is no 'reserve' in the presentation of the idea and little development in its disclosure. (4) In like manner, the miracles of the Fourth Gospel are built on a more transcendent scale,[2] and sometimes introduce doctrinal discourses and controversies; there are no cases of exorcism and the healing ministry receives slight attention. (5) Other differences include the portrayal of the Baptist as a witness to Jesus rather than a preacher of repentance; the placing of the Cleansing (ii. 14–16) at the beginning of the ministry; the fixing upon the raising of Lazarus as the event which leads the hierarchy to take action (xi. 47–53); the date of the Supper before the Passover (xviii. 28, xix. 14); the absence of an account of the institution of the Eucharist; and (apart from xxi) the locating of the Resurrection Appearances at Jerusalem. (6) Finally, and most important of all, there is a notable

[1] Cf. W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 228 *f.*; H. Windisch, *Johannes und die Synoptiker* (1926), pp. 54–8.

[2] J. H. Bernard maintains the contrary. *Op. cit.*, pp. clxxvi–clxxxvi and 186.

difference as regards the sayings of Jesus. In the Synoptics these consist of parables and pointed ethical and religious precepts; in John the discourses are longer and the characteristic themes are Life, Light, Truth, Judgement, Christ's Person, and His relation to the Father. There are no parables, but allegories are found like those of the Good Shepherd and the Vine.

Along with these differences there are important *similarities*. Pithy sayings are found in John (iv. 34, vi. 27, xv. 13) and Rabbinical arguments in Mark (xi. 30, xii. 35–7). Like John (vi. 66 *ff.*) Mark describes a crisis in the Galilean ministry (viii. 29), and tells how Jesus gave private instruction to His disciples (vii. 17–23, viii. 14–21).[1] In all the Gospels the authority of Jesus is stressed (cf. Mark i. 22, vi. 2). His consciousness of a unique mission appears in the Temptation story and in the parable of the Vineyard (Mark xii. 1–12), and the sense of His filial relation to the Father in Matthew xi. 27=Luke x. 22.

The Evangelist's Relation to the Synoptics

Opinion is practically unanimous that the Evangelist has used Mark; as regards Luke, it is divided, and unfavourable to his use of Matthew.[2] Phrases in the story of the impotent man are almost identical with Mark's vocabulary (cf. v. 8 *f.* and Mark ii. 9, 11 *f.*). There are also close resemblances in the story of the Anointing (cf. xii. 3–8 and Mark xiv. 3–8), and in the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand (cf. vi. 7 and Mark vi. 37).[3] But the Evangelist does not use the Markan source as Matthew and Luke used it. In respect of vocabulary his

[1] We have also noted parallels between Proto-Luke and John. See pp. 42 *f.*

[2] There is good reason, however, for thinking that the Evangelist knew Matthew's Gospel. See B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, pp. 408–16; P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*, pp. 263–5.

[3] Other parallels occur in xiv. 31 (cf. Mark xiv. 42), and xviii. 18, 39 (cf. Mark xiv. 54, xv. 9). Cf. V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, III. pp. 214 *ff.*; B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 *ff.*; J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. xciv. *ff.*

debt is comparatively small; he takes over a few words and phrases, almost as if by memory, and develops the story independently, guided by his own religious and doctrinal predilections. It is this combination of dependence and independence which is so remarkable. The dependence is not what we should expect from an Apostolic eyewitness; the independence points to a writer with knowledge and convictions of his own. As regards the Evangelist's attitude to the Synoptics, four principal views have been held: that he wrote (1) in independence of them; (2) to supplement them; (3) to elucidate them; (4) to supersede them. Of these views the first is strongly advocated by Dr. P. Gardner-Smith.[1] The Fourth Evangelist, he holds, was not familiar with any of the Synoptic Gospels. It is doubtful if this thesis can be sustained. The claim that the Fourth Evangelist would not have contradicted a written Gospel that had already gained currency in the Church,[2] is not in accord with the conditions which existed by A.D. 90, as is shown by St. Luke's use of Mark, and is unnecessary if St. John and St. Mark were 'almost contemporaries'.[3] Moreover, Streeter's discussion of the verbal similarities seems decisive.[4] The view that the Evangelist wrote to supplement the Synoptic Gospels, maintained since the second century, is only partially true; and still less can be said for the idea that he wrote to elucidate these Gospels. The fourth explanation, which has been strongly urged by H. Windisch,[5] claims too much; but it

[1] *St. John and the Synoptic Gospels* (1938). R. H. Strachan speaks of the case as impressive, but reminds us of C. H. Dodd's argument (*Expositor*, October, 1921) that the Fourth Evangelist appears to combine the two accounts of the same journey in Mark vi. 34–vii. 37 and viii. 1–26. Cf. *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd ed., 1941), pp. 27*f*. W. F. Howard says that he is 'almost persuaded by the cumulative weight of the arguments', with the proviso that, before the Gospel was published, there was some verbal assimilation to a few of the Markan and Lukan narratives (e.g. the Anointing and the Feeding of the Multitude) by the Editor. *Op. cit.*, p. 17 *n.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 7. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 95. [4] *The Four Gospels*, pp. 397–401.

[5] In *Johannes und die Synoptiker*. See my articles in the *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1928 ('The Psychology of the Johannine Christ-Testimonies'), and *The London Quarterly Review*, January, 1929 ('Prof. Windisch and the Fourth Gospel').

is true to the extent that the Evangelist did wish to provide his readers with something more adequate to their needs than anything they as yet possessed. No conclusion less than this will account for the masterful way in which he treats the works of his predecessors, omitting, recasting, and replacing their narratives, and closing his own story in the conviction that what he has written is sufficient to awaken faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God.

The Traditions Peculiar to the Fourth Gospel

Besides using Mark, the Evangelist has drawn extensively on valuable Palestinian traditions. (1) This is apparent from the familiarity shown with Jewish Messianic ideas (i. 19 *ff.*, vii. 25–31, 40–2, xii. 34), customs[1] (ii. 6, xix. 14, 31, 40, 42), feasts (vi. 4, vii. 2, 37, x. 22), national sentiments (iv. 9, vii. 35, viii. 48, xi. 48), and Rabbinical arguments (v. 10, vii. 23, ix. 16). (2) The numerous precise and accurate topographical statements point in the same direction (i. 28, ii. 1, 12 *f.*, iii. 22 *f.*, iv. 5, vi. 1, 24 *f.*, 59, x. 40, xi. 18, 54, xii. 1, &c.): especially the references to the pool of Bethesda (v. 2), the pool of Siloam (ix. 7), the porch of Solomon (x. 23), the brook Kidron (xviii. 1), and the 'Pavement' (xix. 13). (3) Still more is this indicated by the points in which the Johannine tradition is superior to that of the Synoptics: the view that some of the disciples had already been followers of the Baptist, and had met Jesus previous to the Call in Galilee; the celebration of the Supper before the Passover; the references to Annas (xviii. 13) and to the disciple 'known unto the high priest' (xviii. 15 *f.*). It does not necessarily follow that the Evangelist is recording his own recollections: the facts are equally well explained if he is dependent on the testimony of an eyewitness. That the latter is the true view is suggested by the fact that, where he is

[1] The objection that the Evangelist thinks of the high priesthood as an annual office is baseless. In describing Caiaphas as high priest 'that year' (xi. 51, xviii. 13), he means 'that fateful year', 'that year of all years'.

dependent on Mark, the Evangelist adds little of any historical moment to the story. It is also supported by signs which go to show that in incorporating his special tradition the Evangelist is using sources, and perhaps written sources. These questions call for close study. All that can be said here is that, while in many respects the Evangelist is dependent on excellent tradition, he also uses material which has been repeatedly used for didactic purposes and which owes its present form to the use to which it has been put.

Jewish and Hellenistic Influences

Much discussion has centred on the influences which were determinative for the Evangelist in the selection and presentation of his material. Were these influences Jewish[1] or Greek, and in particular, is the Gospel dominated by Alexandrian teaching regarding the Logos? Little progress can be made if these questions are put as alternatives. Behind all that the Evangelist says of the Logos stands Old Testament teaching about the Creative Word of God. Other factors are the teaching about Wisdom in Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon, and perhaps Rabbinical speculations about the Divine Memra. But this does not settle the question: as much might be said of the Jewish antecedents of Philo's teaching about the Logos —a term which he took over from the Stoics to describe the immanent Reason filling the universe and mediating between it and God. Direct dependence of the Evangelist on Philo's teaching has not been proved, but indirect dependence can hardly be doubted, since the Logos was 'as familiar a topic in the educated circles of Asia Minor as the doctrine of Evolution is in Europe or America at the present day'.[2] A crucial difference, however, marks the Evangelist's use of the term from that of

[1] In the work already cited on p. 84, K. Bornhäuser argues that throughout the Prologue the Torah is contrasted with Jesus Christ.

[2] J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. cxlii.

Philo. For the Evangelist the Logos is personal and has become flesh.[1] In this use of the term we have a decisive illustration of his relation to Greek thought: he takes over a philosophical idea, both Jewish and Greek in its antecedents, and uses it to explain to himself and his readers the significance of Jesus in relation to God, man, and the universe.

Fr. Büchsel[2] has shown the Old Testament character of almost all the terms characteristic of the Fourth Gospel; but while this is an excellent reply to those who explain the Gospel as the product of Hellenistic syncretism, it presents only one side of a complex situation. A Greek air blows throughout the entire Gospel. Instead of the Kingdom of God, we read of 'eternal life' which consists of knowing God and Jesus Christ (xvii. 3), and instead of the Parousia we read of the gift of the Spirit (xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7–11, 13*f*). Judgement is conceived as a process (iii. 18 *ff.*) and resurrection as a present inward experience (v. 24, xi. 25*f*.). Jesus is the Light (viii. 12), and the Truth (xiv. 6), and promises Truth which makes men free (viii. 32). In these and in other instances the teaching of Jesus is not discarded, but it is certainly transposed into a Greek key and interpreted.[3]

[1] A. Harnack has suggested that the Prologue was written *after* the rest of the Gospel was composed. In a shorter form it may also have existed as a separate composition. Cf. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. cxliv *ff.*

[2] In *Johannes und der hellenistische Synkretismus* (1928).

[3] Cf. E. F. Scott, *The Gospel and its Tributaries* (1928), who argues that whatever the Evangelist borrows from the speculation of the time 'is only a vehicle' by which he seeks to impart his Christian message 'more fully and impressively' (p. 186). A direct relation between the Fourth Gospel and the Hermetica has not been made out. Cf. J. E. Carpenter, *The Johannine Writings* (1927), pp. 303–12. The same is also true of the alleged relations between the Gospel and Gnostic Mandaism. W. Bauer admits that in no case is it necessary to assert dependence on either side, *op. cit.*, p. 4. F. C. Burkitt claims that while Mandaism may be interesting in itself, 'it is useless to go to it as a key to unlock the mysteries of early Christian development', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1928. Cf. Fr. Buchsel: 'The Mandaean literature, the Manichaean Fragments, the Odes of Solomon yield nothing of importance for the understanding of the Johannine writings.' *op. cit.*, p. 9. This opinion is much too sweeping, and it is better to regard the Mandaean sayings as echoes of a world of thought and speech, in which the

The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel

It is very difficult to separate this question from those of date and authorship, but, as far as possible, the attempt should be made. The proper procedure is to let our estimate of the historical value of the Gospel influence our decision in these questions, and not *vice versa*.

(1) There is no reason to suppose that the Gospel is a romance or an elaborate allegory. It is misused ingenuity to interpret the woman of Samaria as the Samaritan community, and her five husbands as the heathen gods of 2 Kings xvii. 31 *f.*; or to explain the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda (v. 1–9) as a type of sinful Israel, the five porches of the pool as the five Books of Moses, and the thirty-eight years of sickness as a reference to the wanderings of Israel in the wilderness. Least of all can we, with Augustine, believe that the one hundred and fifty-three fishes, mentioned in xxi. 11, symbolize the Church as evolved from the Law and the Spirit.[1] The agreement of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptics in many points of importance, and the many excellent traditions which it alone records, demand a much higher evaluation of its contents than the one implied by this mode of interpretation.

(2) But, frequently, the Fourth Gospel is inferior in historical accuracy to the Synoptics. We should not know that the Baptist was the prophetic herald of the Kingdom of God if we had only the Johannine portraiture at our disposal.[2] Moreover, the Markan account makes it extremely doubtful that John witnessed the descent of the

[1] Augustine argues that $1+2+3\ldots+17=153$, and that $17=10$ (the Law) $+7$ (the Spirit). Cf. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, lxxxvii.

[2] I have treated the difficulties of the saying: 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world' (i. 29), in *Jesus and His Sacrifice*, pp. 225–8.

Fourth Evangelist also lived. See the important article of W. F. Howard, 'The Fourth Gospel and Gnostic Mandaism', *The London Quarterly Review*, January, 1927. See also my article, 'The Mandaeans and the Fourth Gospel', *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1930.

dove at the Baptism of Jesus (i. 32; cf. Mark i. 10). The account of the Feeding of the Five Thousand in vi. 1–14 is, in its details, distinctly inferior to that of Mark vi. 30–44, and the same is true of the events of the Passion Story.

(3) Again, while the Fourth Gospel records many valuable special traditions, it also contains elements of doubtful historical value. Can Jesus, who held His Messianic claims in reserve until the great day near Caesarea Philippi (cf. Mark viii. 27 *ff.*), have imparted His secret to the woman of Samaria (iv. 26, 29, 42)? Further, the historical difficulties of the account of the Marriage Feast at Cana (ii. 1–11) are insuperable. The motive for the miracle is trivial, the provision of one hundred and twenty gallons of wine is excessive, and the expectation of Mary is difficult to explain. The true explanation is surely either that originally the story was an allegory, or that a natural event has been given a miraculous interpretation in the oral period. A similar interpretation is also required for the matchless story of the Raising of Lazarus (xi. 1–53). A delay of two days, in order that His disciples might believe (xi. 6, 15), is unlike Jesus; the picture of Lazarus issuing from the tomb 'bound hand and foot' (xi. 44) is not convincing; and the silence of the Synoptics regarding the incident is inexplicable.[1]

(4) The conclusion to be drawn is that the Evangelist is using, not personal recollections, but material with a long history behind it. The value of the material varies according to the distance which separates it from the testimony of original eyewitnesses, its fortunes in the course of transmission, and the religious ends which it is made to serve. In some cases, it will have been modified already by the unconscious action of unknown intermediaries; in other cases, it is freely recast by the dramatic and religious genius of the Evangelist himself. The historical founda-

[1] Cf. W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, pp. 191–6.

tions of the Christian revelation are of the greatest importance to him (cf. John i. 14; 1 John i. 1–4), but he is not a reporter, and does not write with the painful accuracy of a modern scientific record. We merely display a want of historical perspective if we expect these things in the Fourth Gospel, for, in this case, we are gratuitously imposing quite modern standards of historical accuracy upon the work of an ancient writer; we are also closing our eyes to the independent and masterful character of the Evangelist's mind and method. It may well be that we should interpret John i. 14 and 1 John i. 1–4 as implying that he had seen and heard Jesus, but it is in every way improbable that he was an eyewitness comparable to Peter.[1] His attitude to the narrative tradition is that of one whose main interest is not details as they actually happened, but the abiding significance of the Gospel Story. This estimate is strongly supported by the nature of the Johannine sayings.

The Johannine Sayings and Discourses

In view of the marked differences between the Synoptic and the Johannine sayings, and the striking similarities between the latter and the language of 1 John, the Prologue, and the Baptist's speeches, we cannot use the sayings as if they were a bare transcript of the actual words of Jesus. 'Historical recollections and interpretative reflection, the fruit of thought and experience, have come down to us inextricably blended.'[2] Naturally such a view can be variously estimated. Some scholars, like A. Loisy in *Le quatrième évangile*, find little or no historical element in the sayings. For J. E. Carpenter they represent 'the language of a religious fellowship'. 'So complete is the union of its members with their heavenly Lord that they can represent Him as speaking by anticipation in their name.'[3] Many

[1] Cf. V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, III, p. 281.
[2] W. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (1905), p. 168.
[3] *The Johannine Writings*, p. 225.

critics instance the Dialogues of Plato, and suggest that the Evangelist gives the teaching of Jesus as Plato preserves the teaching of Socrates.[1] H. Windisch[2] emphasizes the depth and power of the Evangelist's religious experience and his consciousness of standing in contact with the Spirit, and claims that, besides recording traditional sayings in his characteristic style, the Evangelist himself shapes 'Christ-words' which are carried back to Christ and imparted as a 'word' from Him. Most British scholars hold that while the Evangelist records things said and taught by Jesus, he records them not in their spoken form, but as they are present to his consciousness after long years of brooding and ripe Christian experience.[3] E. A. Abbott spoke of the Fourth Gospel as an 'inspired Targum'.[4] This term[5] recalls the practice, current among the Rabbis, of freely translating the Hebrew Scriptures into the vernacular with explanatory comments and interpretations. In his *Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, W. F. Howard has made a further use of this illustration. In particular, he finds that in xii–xvii the Evangelist has given us a Targum upon the words of Jesus spoken on the last night of His earthly life. 'The Targum is sometimes an almost literal translation of the actual words that were spoken; sometimes a free paraphrase; sometimes an interpretative exposition.'[6]

In forming an opinion on this question two facts are determinative: (1) The sayings are put into the mouth of a definite historical personality; (2) The Evangelist writes to produce belief in the Speaker. In the light of these considerations the extremer views should be dismissed. How

[1] Cf. P. Gardner, *The Ephesian Gospel*, pp. 100 *ff.*

[2] *Johannes und die Synoptiker*, pp. 135 *ff.*; *Die Absolutheit des Johannesevangeliums*, pp. 12 *ff.*

[3] Cf. B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 372; J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

[4] *The Son of Man*, p. 411.

[5] 'Targum' means 'interpretation' or 'translation'.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 229. See the entire chapter, 'Jesus in the Johannine Idiom', *op. cit.*, pp. 215–29. See also *The Expository Times*, xlvi, pp. 486–91.

could the Evangelist ask for faith in One whose words he invented under a present creative impulse? At the same time, the signs that the sayings are interpreted, reshaped, and expanded are too plain to be denied. In these circumstances the literary process may be described as follows. The Evangelist begins with traditional sayings of Jesus. On these he has long meditated, and he has repeatedly used them in teaching and debate. His mind is not of the type which retains what it receives unchanged: on the contrary, it is open to many suggestions from his rich intellectual environment. So intense and living is his Christian experience that he continually sees richer and more profound suggestions in the words of Jesus; and he does this in the belief that he is under the guidance of the Spirit (xiv. 26). When, therefore, he takes up his pen, 'historical recollections and interpretative reflection' are 'inextricably blended'; he brings out his material from 'hiding-places ten years deep'.[1] Sometimes we can hear the Evangelist more than we can hear Jesus,[2] but for the most part the fusion is too complete.[3] It may be questioned, indeed, if the Evangelist himself could always distinguish clearly between a saying which he had received from Christian tradition and an idea which, in his belief, expressed the mind of Christ. This view involves gain as well as loss: it is an inestimable boon to have the teaching of Jesus as it was understood and interpreted by a singularly noble and sympathetic mind.[4]

[1] Wordsworth. Cf. R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Evangelist*, p. 62.
[2] E.g. in iii. 11, v. 19–29, x. 8.
[3] Who can be certain in chapter iii. where the words of Jesus end and those of the Evangelist begin?
[4] Cf. R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel* (3rd ed.), pp. 15–26; W. F. Howard, *Christianity according to St. John*, pp. 21–9.

XII

THE FOURTH GOSPEL: ITS PURPOSE, AUTHORSHIP, AND VALUE

The subjects now to be discussed are among the most important issues in New Testament Introduction. The conclusions reached must rest upon the material set out in the previous chapter, and also (in the question of authorship) upon the external evidence and the identity of the Beloved Disciple.

The Evangelist's Purpose

The Evangelist's aim is religious. 'These are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name' (xx. 31). For this purpose he selects his material with sovereign freedom; he chooses striking 'signs' which reveal the divine greatness of Jesus, and records sayings which disclose His eternal significance as the Word of God to men. Arising out of this purpose several polemical aims are visible. (1) The Evangelist's sharpest polemic is reserved for the unbelieving *Jews* who, though 'Jesus had done so many signs before them', 'believed not on him'; and whose attitude he can explain to himself only as due to the judicial hardening of God (xii. 37 *ff.*). This attitude is by no means one of racial hatred. On the contrary, it is just because he is a Jew that he feels the Jewish rejection of Jesus so deeply.[1] It is also probable that he has in mind the antagonism to which his readers were exposed from Jewish opponents. (2) Equally clear is the Evangelist's reaction against *docetic tendencies* which viewed the humanity of Jesus as one of 'appearance', separated God

[1] 'His very anger with his own race is that of a Jew . . . His anger is the inverted patriotism of the prophet rebuking his people', Lord Charnwood, *According to St. John*, p. 52.

from contact with matter, and taught a doctrine of intermediaries. It is probably for this reason that he avoids nouns like 'knowledge', 'wisdom', and 'faith', beloved in Gnostic circles, and uses the corresponding verbal forms. His opposition is plain in the emphasis which he lays on the humanity of Jesus (cf. i. 14, ii. 25, iv. 6, xi. 33, 38, xix. 28, 34; 1 John ii. 22, iv. 2; 2 John 7).[1] That the Word 'became flesh, and dwelt among us', is the cardinal doctrine. (3) A third contemporary interest is revealed in the presentation of *the Baptist.* The Baptism of Jesus is not described, and the Baptist is portrayed merely as a witness to the Messiahship of Jesus. 'The friend of the bridegroom' John 'must decrease', while Jesus 'the bridegroom' 'must increase' (iii. 30). This presentation is probably the Evangelist's answer to a Baptist sect at Ephesus (cf. Acts xix. 1–7) which exalted the person of the Baptist.[2] (4) Lastly, polemical aims of an *ecclesiastical* kind are present. The omission of any account of the institution of the Eucharist, for which the story of the feet-washing is substituted (xiii. 1–17), the association of sacramental teaching with the feeding of the five thousand (vi), and the pointed language about 'the spirit that quickeneth' (vi. 63), are probably occasioned by current sacramentarian tendencies; and a similar opposition appears in the contention that in the New Birth a man is 'born of water and the Spirit' (iii. 5). At the same time the Evangelist teaches the reality of a spiritual 'feeding' on Christ (vi. 32 *ff.*), and of union with Him (xv. 1 *ff.*),[3] and his supreme interest in

[1] The presence of ideas similar to those of Gnostic teachers (cf. v. 24, viii. 44, x. 8, 34, xiv. 30) has led H. Delafosse (*Le quatrième évangile*, 1925), to put forward the perverse hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel is the Christianized version of an original Marcionite document.

[2] Cf. W. Baldensperger, *Die Prolog des vierten Evangeliums* (1898); W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 *ff.*; W. F. Howard, *The London Quarterly Review*, January, 1927, pp. 77 *f.*, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, pp. 38, 71 *f.*

[3] For a discussion of the Evangelist's Eucharistic teaching see J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. clxvi *ff.* See also W. F. Howard, *Christianity according to St. John*, pp. 143–50.

the Church is manifest in the great Highpriestly Prayer (xvii).[1]

The Long Residence of the Apostle John in Ephesus

This tradition is asserted or implied by several early writers including Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Polycrates, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Irenaeus declares (A.D. 180–5) that 'John the disciple of the Lord, who leaned on His breast, himself too set forth the gospel while dwelling in Ephesus, the city of Asia',[2] and says that he lived there 'till the times of Trajan',[3] Irenaeus is an especially important witness because he bases his testimony on his personal contact with the aged Polycarp (A.D. 69–155). Writing to a certain Florinus who had lapsed from the faith, he recalls how Polycarp was wont to tell of his intercourse with John and with others who had seen the Lord.

'I distinctly remember the incidents of that time better than events of recent occurrence . . . so that I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed . . . and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord.'[4]

It has frequently been said that the recollections of Irenaeus were confused, and that Polycarp really referred to the Elder John of whom Papias speaks. This is most improbable. The Ephesian residence of the Apostle is attested by writers entirely independent of Irenaeus. Of these one of the most important is Polycrates of Ephesus who, in a letter to Victor of Rome, written towards the close of the second century, says: 'Moreover John, who

[1] The secondary rôle played by Peter (cf. xiii. 21 *ff.*, xx. 2 *ff.*, xxi. 20 *ff.*) may also mark the Evangelist's silent correction of those who stressed the claims of Peter to be regarded as the principal Apostle.

[2] *Adv. Haer.*, III, i. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, iii. 4.

[4] Eus., *H.E.*, V, xx. 6.

rested on the Lord's bosom, and became a priest wearing the "petalon", martyr (or "witness") and teacher, he also sleeps in Ephesus.'[1] Even more important is the testimony of Justin Martyr who was present in Ephesus about the year A.D. 136, where he held a debate with the Jew Trypho. Some fifteen years later he published his *Dialogue with Trypho*, in which he writes: 'A certain man among us, by name John, one of the Apostles of Christ, prophesied in a revelation which was made to him.' The testimony of these early writers is also supported by the Gnostic *Acts of John* (*c.* A.D. 150), and by the fact that, rightly or wrongly, no less than five New Testament books, written in the Roman province of Asia, are traditionally ascribed to John the Apostle. If, moreover, the Beloved Disciple is the Apostle, the Appendix to the Fourth Gospel is the earliest witness of all to his great age and probable residence in Asia Minor.

The Alleged Papias Tradition Regarding the Death of John

The tradition of the long residence of John in Ephesus would have to be abandoned if certain evidence could be accepted which has been held to point to the early death of the Apostle as a martyr. This evidence is contained in a statement of Philip of Side (*c.* A.D. 450), given by a late epitomizer of his History, which reads: 'Papias in the second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews.' This statement is repeated by a ninth-century writer, George the Sinner, who finds in it a fulfilment of Christ's prediction in Mark x. 39 (the saying about the Cup and Baptism); and it is said to be supported by a Syriac Martyrology (*c.* A.D. 411), by the Calendar of Carthage (A.D. 505), and by the words of certain early writers who either do not mention John when they speak of the surviving Apostles or describe him

[1] Eus., *H.E.*, V, xxiv. 2, 3.

as a 'martyr'.[1] As against the alleged tradition the following points may be summarized: (1) The doubt whether Philip drew his statement directly from Papias, and the fact that he is sometimes guilty of serious historical errors;[2] (2) the probability that the statement of George the Sinner merely reproduces that of Philip; (3) the very doubtful evidence supplied by the Calendars;[3] (4) the fact that Mark x. 39 need not predict 'red' martyrdom, nor be regarded as 'a prophecy after the event'; (5) the improbability that the Church in Asia would have denied the crown of martyrdom to its greatest saint; (6) the silence of Irenaeus and Eusebius; (7) the strength of the contrary tradition that John lived to a peaceful old age in Ephesus. On these grounds the alleged tradition ought, I think, unhesitatingly to be dismissed.[4] How it arose we cannot tell; it may be due either to a mistake of Philip of Side or his epitomizer, or to a remark of Papias about John the Baptist, or to textual corruption.

The External Evidence for the Theory of Apostolic Authorship

The case of the residence of St. John in Ephesus is very strong, but the part of the tradition which claims for the

[1] This evidence has been accepted by many Continental scholars, and by J. Moffatt, F. C. Burkitt, R. H. Charles, A. H. McNeile, and G. H. C. Macgregor; but it has been adversely criticized by Th. Zahn, A. Harnack, V. H. Stanton, A. S. Peake, C. F. Nolloth, J. E. Carpenter, C. H. Dodd, W. F. Howard, and especially by J. H. Bernard.

[2] Cf. J. H. Bernard: 'In short, it is doubtful that Philip of Side knew anything about Papias except what he found in Eusebius,' *op. cit.*, p. xl. V. H. Stanton writes: 'Philip of Side . . . is a most unsatisfactory witness. Both Socrates and Photius give us a very unfavourable view of him as a writer, and some examples of his quite exceptional aptitude for making the gravest blunders are known to us,' *op. cit.*, I, p. 167.

[3] J. H. Bernard points out that the early calendars 'included the names of great leaders, whether they were "red" martyrs or no', *op. cit.*, p. xliv. Of the Syriac Martyrology Harnack writes: 'What a strange Calendar, which would have us believe that Stephen was martyred on December 26, James and John on December 27, Peter and Paul on December 28, while for a long while other days of martyrdom had been current in the Church for James, Paul, and Peter!' (Cited by C. F. Nolloth, *The Fourth Evangelist*, p. 78 *n.*)

[4] See the strong observations of W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, p. 234.

Apostle the actual authorship of the Gospel is less convincing. The earliest express quotation from the Gospel as the work of John is that of Theophilus of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 180).[1] Soon afterwards Irenaeus makes the definite statement already quoted, and from this time onwards the Apostolic authorship is the accepted belief. There are signs, however, that this position was not attained without opposition. This is indicated by the fact that at the beginning of the third century Hippolytus of Rome found it necessary to write a *Defence of the Gospel and Apocalypse of John*, and by the vehemence with which Irenaeus argues that the Gospels are, and can only be, four in number.[2] Towards the end of the second century there were those within the Church who opposed the Gospel and the Apocalypse on doctrinal grounds, and who later were nicknamed by Epiphanius the 'Alogi', and a little later Gaius of Rome is known to have repudiated the Gospel and the Apocalypse for a similar reason.[3] Again, there are indications that during the period A.D. 100–50 the circulation of the Gospel was limited. It was probably known to Ignatius, but not to Polycarp, and possibly not to Marcion. Justin knew the Gospel, but rarely quotes it and appears to use it as a work which has not yet received general recognition. Recently, in a brilliant critical study, P. N. Harrison[4] has shown that chapters i–xii of Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians*, which reflect no knowledge of the Fourth Gospel, were not written until A.D. 135–7. He therefore infers that, while the first draft of the Gospel

[1] 'We are taught by the Holy Scriptures and all Spirit-bearing men, among whom John says: "In the beginning . . ." ', *Ad Autolycum*, II, 22.

[2] 'It is impossible that the Gospels should be in number either more or fewer than these,' *Adv. Haer.*, III, xi. 8. His argument rests on the fact that there are four quarters of the world, four principal winds, four-faced Cherubim, &c.

[3] For the relations between Gaius and the Alogi, cf. B. W. Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 *ff.*; V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 239 *ff.*; M.-J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon saint Jean* (1927), lv–lxi; B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (4th impression), p. 438.

[4] Cf. *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (1936), pp. 255–66, 302–10.

may have been written much earlier, perhaps at Antioch during the Episcopate of Ignatius, the work cannot have been finally edited and published in its present form until *c.* A.D. 135.[1] If this argument is accepted, while there may be some connexion between the Fourth Gospel and the Apostle John, the latter cannot have been in the full sense the Evangelist. J. H. Bernard has argued that the tradition as to the manner of its composition, in the Muratorian Fragment, and the Monarchian and Toletan Prefaces, 'reveal that John was *not* regarded as the sole author by those who accepted his Gospel as canonical'.[2] The soundest conclusion to be drawn is that the external evidence leaves open the possibility of ascribing the Gospel to a non-Apostolic writer, if the internal evidence points to such a view. On this point, perhaps, the wisest thing has been said by V. H. Stanton, who writes:

'But the authorship of the Fourth Gospel by the Apostle John, though included in the second-century tradition about him, cannot be regarded as therefore established. For the writing of the Gospel would be a work performed in private, of which few could have direct knowledge, while from the first there would be a general disposition to magnify the Apostle's connexion with the book if he had, or could be supposed to have had, any at all.'[3]

[1] The discovery of the papyrus fragment, P. Ryl. Gk. 457, indicates that, in some form, the Fourth Gospel 'was circulating in Middle Egypt in the first half of the second century'. Cf. C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 25. 'This would imply a slightly earlier date for composition, especially if with some critics we hold that the Gospel was first intended for a select circle at Ephesus', *op. cit.*, pp. 25*f.* Mr. Roberts suggests 'late first to early second century' (*ibid.*).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. lxix. The reference to the Fourth Gospel in the Muratorian Canon is as follows: 'Of the fourth of the Gospels, John, one of the disciples. . . . To his fellow disciples and bishops exhorting (him) he said, Fast with me for three days from to-day: and whatsoever shall have been revealed to each, let us relate it to one another. On the same night it was revealed to Andrew (one) of the apostles, that, all reviewing (*recognoscentibus cunctis*), John should write down all things in his name.' Cf. J. E. Carpenter, *The Johannine Writings*, p. 226. For the Latin text, see A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 208.

[3] *Op. cit.*, III, pp. 279*f.*

The Elder John

Many scholars identify the Evangelist with the Elder John of whom Papias speaks in the following passage:

'And again, when any one came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders, I would inquire as to the sayings of the Elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.'[1]

Here, two Johns are distinguished;[2] and it is not surprising that the Elder John has frequently been identified with the Evangelist and the unnamed Elder of 2 and 3 John.[3] The chief merit of this identification is that it explains how confusion with the Apostle could arise in early tradition; but there is little else to be said in its favour. We do not know that the Elder of the Epistles was called 'John'; there is no evidence associating the Elder John with Asia; and the little we know of the latter does not suggest a mind capable of writing the Fourth Gospel.[4]

[1] Eus., *H.E.*, III, xxxix. 4.

[2] Some scholars, including Th. Zahn, J. Chapman, C. F. Nolloth, C. J. Cadoux, have argued that Papias means to indicate one person only. Dr. A. Mingana (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, July, 1930) has reported the discovery of a late Syriac MS. (dated September 23rd, 1749, but in Dr. Mingana's opinion the faithful copy of an original *c.* A.D. 750) of the Peshitta New Testament. Before the Gospel of John stands the statement: 'The holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ (according to) the preaching of John the younger'; at the end is the colophon: 'Here ends the writing of the holy Gospel (according to) the preaching of John who spoke in Greek in Bithynia.'

[3] E.g. by A Harnack, E. Schürer, J. Moffatt, R. H. Charles, J. E. Carpenter, B. H. Streeter, A. H. McNeile, G. H. C. Macgregor, and J. H. Bernard.

[4] See the articles by B. W. Bacon, 'The Ephesian Elder and the Elder John', *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1927: 'The "traditions" of the Elder John consist of typically Jewish *midrash*' (p. 116), and 'The Mythical "Elder John" of Ephesus', *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1931. Cf. also V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 168 *ff.*

The Beloved Disciple and the Evangelist

Various attempts have been made to identify 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, xxi. 7, 20), but the strongest case is that which identifies him with the Apostle John. Among the reasons for this view are: the fact that otherwise, apart from xxi. 2, John is not mentioned in the Gospel; the Disciple's presence at the Supper; his association with Peter; and the inferences suggested by the Appendix (xxi. 2).[1] The Beloved Disciple is probably the 'witness' on whose testimony the Evangelist relies. By this view we account best for the phrase 'the disciple whom Jesus loved', and for the terms of xix. 35: 'And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he ("that one") knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe.' The Evangelist appears to be speaking of someone other than himself. A real difficulty is raised by the words 'and wrote these things' in xxi. 24, but this verse is widely believed to have been added in good faith by those who published the Gospel.[2] The relationship between the Beloved Disciple and the Evangelist suggests that the latter was not an eyewitness in the sense in which this was true of the Disciple.

The Fourth Evangelist

The view which best satisfies the evidence, both internal and external, is that the Evangelist is not the Apostle, but stood in such a relationship to the latter that it was possible for the Gospel to be known in early tradition as the Gospel according to John.[3] Exactly who the Evangelist was cannot be said; he was certainly a Jew and perhaps a

[1] Other names have been suggested, including Nathanael, John Mark, Lazarus, the Rich Young Ruler, and a Jerusalemite disciple not of the Twelve. J. H. Bernard justly describes the attempt to see in the Beloved Disciple an ideal figure as 'a desperate expedient of exegesis', *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

[2] Cf. W. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 81: A. S. Peake, *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 186*f*. Less probably J. H. Bernard explains the phrase in the sense 'caused to be written down', *op. cit.*, p. 713.

[3] His relation to John resembles that of Mark to Peter.

Palestinian Jew; he was also the Elder of 2 and 3 John. His name, like those of the authors of Hebrews and Matthew, remains unknown. The justification for this view is that it covers more facts than any other theory. (1) It allows for the strongest element in the external evidence —the belief that the Apostle John lived to extreme old age in Ephesus, and is connected in some way with the composition of the Gospel. (2) Although it dissents from the view that the Apostle is the author, it is so far in harmony with tradition that it looks upon him as the principal 'witness' on whose testimony the Evangelist rests. (3) It accounts for the signs of early hesitation visible behind the confident affirmations of Irenaeus, and for the fact that apparently the Gospel slowly won its way in the first half of the second century. (4) The theory also does justice to the figure of the Beloved Disciple and his relation to the Evangelist. (5) It accounts, too, for the relation in which the Evangelist stands to the scenes he depicts, which contain many lifelike details and yet in substance are sometimes secondary in type; and for the dramatic art with which he selects and presents his material. (6) The dependent relation to Mark, and the fact that Markan phraseology is used, are easier to understand if the Evangelist is not the Apostolic eyewitness. (7) On the other hand, the masterful spirit with which the Markan tradition is treated is explained by his theological standpoint and his possession of an independent cycle of tradition, especially if for much of this he is indebted to the Apostle. (8) Above all, the theory accounts for the intellectual development manifest in the interpretative element in the story, and especially in the form and substance of the sayings and discourses.[1] On grounds such as these the theory

[1] 'It would be strange that one who had come among the Greek or Hellenized population of Western Asia Minor in the last two or three decades of a long life . . . should show that in his own thought he has undergone development to the extent that we find here', V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, III, p. 281.

of authorship described above is the one held by an overwhelming majority of British scholars, although many of them find the author in the Elder John.[1] Continental scholarship is more radical. In the main it rejects the whole of the tradition relative to the Apostle John,[2] but in this it does violence to the strong points in that tradition and to the implications of the Gospel itself.

The Value of the Fourth Gospel

The value of the Fourth Gospel lies partly in the fact that in important respects its tradition supplements and corrects that of the Synoptics; still more in the fact that in it the original tradition is interpreted, so that its deeper significance is brought out; but most of all in the portraiture of Jesus given in chapters xiii–xvii. For many points we turn in decided preference to the Synoptic Gospels: for the record of Christ's detailed ethical teaching and the story of His works of mercy; for the account of the gradual manner in which He advanced His Messianic claims; for His sorrow over Jerusalem and its people; and for sympathies which extend beyond the primitive brotherhood. But for the deeper secret of Christ's personality and His significance for men, and for the teaching which sums up all Christian duty and service in love, we turn to the Fourth Gospel. Apart from his theory of authorship, Clement of Alexandria gave the truest account of the character of this Gospel when he wrote: 'Last of all, John, perceiving that the *bodily* facts had been set forth in the Gospels, being urged by his friends and inspired by the

[1] Previous to 1920 the non-Apostolic authorship was held by E. A. Abbott, J. Moffatt, P. Gardner, H. L. Jackson, F. C. Burkitt, and W. R. Inge. Since that date the same view has been maintained by V. H. Stanton, A. E. Brooke, A. E. Garvie, C. F. Burney, B. H. Streeter, R. H. Strachan, Lord Charnwood, J. E. Carpenter, A. H. McNeile, G. H. C. Macgregor, J. H. Bernard, W. F. Howard, and W. Temple. Among those who in recent years have defended the traditional view are C. F. Nolloth, C. Gore, H. Scott-Holland, J. A. Robinson, C. Harris, C. E. Raven, and H. P. V. Nunn.

[2] Among the exceptions are Th. Zahn, B. Weiss, K. Bornhäuser, J. Haussleiter, and M.-J. Lagrange.

Spirit, composed a *spiritual* Gospel.'[1] The Fourth Gospel is a challenge as well as a problem. However much we may try to keep an open mind in estimating its value and significance, our verdict 'is influenced, and must be influenced, by our general attitude of mind, the conceptions we form of Jesus and His teaching, and the degree to which we share, or do not share, that experience of communion with the Living Christ so real to the Evangelist and the circle for which he wrote'.[2] 'The Gospels', wrote Origen, 'are the first-fruits of all the Scriptures, but of the Gospels that of John is the first-fruits. No one can apprehend the meaning of it except he have lain on Jesus' breast, and received from Him Mary to be his Mother also.'[3]

[1] Eus., *H.E.*, VI, xiv. 7.
[2] Cited from my article on 'The Fourth Gospel and Some Recent Criticism', *The Hibbert Journal*, July, 1927, p. 743.
[3] *Comm. on John*, tom. i 6. Cited by J. E. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

APPENDIX

In the table given below the various sources and Gospels are set out in order as they have been treated in the foregoing pages. Some of the points involved are open to dispute, and the list is offered only as approximately correct. It will, however, be found useful in discussing such questions as the teaching of Jesus, His Person, the problem of miracles, and the development of primitive Christianity. Any success thereby gained will be at the same time a further justification of the arrangement.

A.D.	
30–65.	The Oral Period.
50–60.	Q.
60–65.	Proto-Luke (Q+L).
c. 65.	The Markan Sayings Collection.
65–70.	The Gospel of Mark.
65–75.	M.
65–80.	The Lukan Birth Stories.
80–85.	The Gospel of Luke.
c. 85.	The Matthaean Narrative Tradition.
85–90.	The Gospel of Matthew.
90–100.	The Gospel of John.

INDEX

Abbott, E. A., 96, 108 *n.*
Acts of John, The, 101
Albertz, M., 13, 31 *n.*, 58
Allen, W. C., 51 *n.*, 52, 65 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 81 *n.*
Alogi, 103

Bacon, B. W., 9 *n.*, 27, 51, 52 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 56, 60 *n.*, 86 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 105 *n.*
Baldensperger, W., 99 *n.*
Barr, Allan, 42 *n.*
Barrett, C. Kingsley, 27
Bartlet, J. V., 32 *n.*, 37 *n.*
Bauer, W., 84 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 92 *n.*, 99 *n.*
Beloved Disciple, The, 86, 101, 106
Bernard, J. H., 84 *n.*, 85, 87*n.*, 91 *n.*, 96 *n.*, 99 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 104, 105 *n.*, 106 *n.*, 108
Bertram, G., 13, 58
Birth Stories, The, 10, 21 *n.*, 37, 62–5
Blass, F., 52
Blunt, A. W. F., 19 *n.*
Bornhäuser, K., 84 *n.*, 91 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Box, G. H., 63 *n.*, 65 *n.*
Briggs, C. A., 63 *n.*
Brooke, A. E., 108 *n.*
Büchsel, Fr., 92 *n.*

Bultmann, R., 13–16, 35, 58, 80 *n.*
Burkitt, F. C., 23 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 67, 73 *n.*, 77, 82 *n.*, 92 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Burney, C. F., 23 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 108
Burton, E. de Witte, 28 *n.*
Bussmann, W., 26 *f.*, 35, 48 *n.*

Cadbury, H. J., 41 *n.*, 69 *n.*, 72 *n.*
Cadoux, C. J., 105 *n.*
Canon, 10 *f.*
Carpenter, J. E., 92 *n.*, 95, 102 *n.*, 104 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 109
Case, S. J., 59 *n.*
Chapman, J., 51 *n.*, 105 *n.*
Charles, R. H., 79 *n.*, 85 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*
Charnwood, Lord, 98 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Clarke, W. K. L., 41 *n.*
Clement of Alexandria, 51 *f.*, 100, 108
Clogg, F. B., 6, 29 *n.*, 43
Conybeare, F. C., 81 *n.*
Creed, J. M., 41 *n.*, 50 *n.*
Cross, F. L., 44 *n.*
Crum, J. M. C., 25, 29 *f.*, 34

Davey, F. N., 86 *n.*
Deissmann, A., 63
Delafosse, H., 99 *n.*
Dibelius, M., 13–17, 56, 58
Dodd, C. H., 27, 59 *n.*, 85, 89 *n.*, 102 *n.*

Easton, B. S., 13, 19 *n.*, 32 *n.*, 35, 68 *n.*, 72 *n.*
Elder John, The, 60, 100 *f.*, 105
Emmet, C. W., 73 *n.*, 79 *n.*
Epiphanius, 103
Eusebius, 9 *n.*, 57, 59, 81 *n.*

Fascher, E., 13, 17, 55 *n.*, 58
Feine, P., 32 *n.*, 37 *n.*
Findlay, J. A., 55 *n.*, 67 *n.*
Flew, R. N., 81 *n.*
Foston, H. M., 43 *n.*
Four Document Hypothesis, The, 9, 30
Fourth Evangelist, The, 7, 10, 89, 106–8
Fourth Gospel, The, 12, 84–109

Gaius of Rome, 103 *n.*
Gardner, P., 96 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Gardner-Smith, P., 10 *n.*, 89
Garvie, A. E., 108 *n.*
George the Sinner, 101 *f.*
Gore, C., 108 *n.*
Grant, F. C., 13, 19 *n.*, 43

Harnack, A., 23, 51 *n.*, 62, 69 *n.*, 70 *n.*, 72 *n.*, 73, 92 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*
Harris, C., 108 *n.*
Harris, J. R., 67 *n.*
Harrison, P. N., 88 *n.*
Haussleiter, J., 103, 108 *n.*
Hawkins, J. C., 22, 31 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 38 *f.*, 45 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 48 *n.*
Hermetica, 92 *n.*
Hippolytus, 103
Holtzmann, H. J., 85
Hoskyns, E., 86 *n.*
Howard, W. F., 52 *n.*, 54 *n.*, 72 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 85, 86 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 93 *n.*, 94 *n.*, 96, 97 *n.*, 99 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Huck, A., 44 *n.*
Hunkin, J. W., 41 *n.*

Ignatius, 103 *f.*
Inge, W. R., 108 *n.*
Irenaeus, 51 *f.*, 69, 100, 102 *f.*, 107

Jackson, H. L., 108 *n.*
Jameson, H. G., 21 *n.*, 47 *n.*
Josephus, 73
Justin Martyr, 100 *f.*

L, 9, 32 *ff.*, 36–8, 62
Lagrange, M.-J., 103 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Lewis, F. W., 86 *n.*
Lightfoot, R. H., 9 *n.*, 19 *n.*, 50 *n.*, 58 *n.*
Lockton, W., 41 *n.*, 47 *n.*
Loisy, A., 35, 48 *n.*, 95
Luke, 62 *f.*, 68–75
Lummis, E., 21 *n.*

M, 9, 30–2
Macgregor, G. H. C., 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*
McNeile, A. H., 6, 12, 54 *n.*, 62 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 82 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Mandaism, 92 *n.*
Manson, T. W., 27, 32 *n.*, 35, 50 *n.*
Marcion, 103
Mark, 28–32, 34, 44–61

Matthew, 64–7, 76–83
Meyer, A., 18, 29 *n.*
Meyer, Ed., 74 *n.*, 81 *n.*, 86 *n.*
Milligan, G., 74 *n.*, 76
Mingana, A., 105 *n.*
Moffatt, J., 6, 48 *n.*, 57 *n.*, 60 *n.*, 72 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 85, 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Monarchian Prefaces, 104
Moulton, J. H., 52 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 74 *n.*, 77 *n.*
Muratorian Fragment, 104

Nolloth, C. F., 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*
Nunn, H. P. V., 108 *n.*

Origen, 100, 109

Papias, 9, 52 *n.*, 57, 59–61, 67, 101 *f.*, 105
Paul, 43, 57, 69, 72 *f.*
Peake, A. S., 6, 102 *n.*, 106 *n.*
Perry, A. M., 37 *n.*
Petrie, C. S., 41 *n.*
Philip of Side, 101 *f.*
Philo, 91 *f.*
Plummer, A., 75 *n.*
Polycarp, 100, 103
Polycrates, 100
Proto-Luke, 36–43, 63, 88 *n.*

Q, 9, 20–42

Ramsay, W. M., 63 *n.*
Raven, C. E., 108 *n.*
Rawlinson, A. E. J., 26 *n.*, 44 *n.*, 48 *n.*, 49–52, 54 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 61, 72 *n.*
Redlich, E., 13, 19 *n.*
Roberts, C. H., 104 *n.*
Robinson, J. A., 9 *n.*, 23 *n.*
Robinson, T. H., 67 *n.*

Sanday, W., 37 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 106 *n.*
Schmidt, K. L., 25 *n.*, 29 *n.*, 53 *n.*, 58 *f.*
Schmiedel, P. W., 85
Schürer, E., 105 *n.*
Schwartz, E., 86 *n.*
Schweitzer, A., 58, 79 *n.*
Scott, E. F., 92 *n.*
Scott-Holland, H., 108 *n.*
Soden, H. von, 48 *n.*
Soltau, W., 86 *n.*
Spitta, F., 86 *n.*
Stanton, V. H., 23 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 48–50, 57 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 66 *n.*, 85, 86 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 102 *n.*, 104 *f.*, 107 *f.*
Strachan, R. H., 84 *n.*, 86 *n.*, 89 *n.*, 97 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Streeter, B. H., 6, 9–11, 18, 23 *n.*, 26 *n.*, 28–42, 44 *n.*, 47–52, 59 *n.*, 60 *n.*, 61 *n.*, 64 *n.*, 71 *n.*, 73 *n.*, 81, 82 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 88 *n.*, 96 *n.*, 103 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Swete, H. B., 51 *n.*, 52 *n.*

Taylor, V., 43 *n.*
Temple, W., 86 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Testimonies, Book of, 62, 66 *f.*
Text of the Gospels, 10 *f.*
Theophilus of Antioch, 103
Thompson, J. M., 44 *n.*, 48 *n.*, 86 *n.*
Toletan Prefaces, 104
Torrey, C. C., 52, 62
Turner, C. H., 48
Two Document Hypothesis, The, 8, 9, 13
Ur-Markus, 13, 47

Victor of Rome, 100
Virgin Birth, 63

Watkins, C. H., 73 *n.*
Weiss, B., 32 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 108 *n.*
Weiss, J., 32 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 52 *f.*
Wellhausen, J., 48 *n.*, 52, 86 *n.*
Wendling, P., 48 *n.*
Wendt, H. H., 86 *n.*
Werner, M., 57
Wernle, P., 48 *n.*
Windisch, H., 72 *n.*, 87 *n.*, 89, 96
Woolf, B. Lee, 19 *n.*
Worcester, E., 63 *n.*
Wrede, W., 58 *n.*, 59

Zahn, Th., 102 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 108 *n.*